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# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

January, 1941

No. 1

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John W. Meldrum, U. S. Commissioner of Yellowstone Park, 1894-1935, and his residence at Mammoth Hot Springs, in February, 1932. House built for the Commissioner in 1894.


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# Annals of Wyoming

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by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

GLADYS F. RILEY

State Librarian and Historian

Cheyenne, Wyoming



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The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

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**JOHN W. MELDRUM**  
Born, 1843 -- Died, 1936

# John W. Meldrum

## THE GRAND OLD MAN OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

By Joseph Ioffe\*

.....

### INTRODUCTION

Honorable John W. Meldrum, United States Commissioner for the Yellowstone National Park from 1894 to 1935, affectionately known by his many friends and admirers as "The Grand Old Man of Yellowstone National Park," answered the call of his Maker on February 27, 1936, at the home of his niece, Miss Susie A. Meldrum, in Denver, Colorado, at the age of 92.

For several years during the time Horace M. Albright was Superintendent of the Yellowstone he bemoaned the fact that practically nothing had ever been written regarding the life of Judge Meldrum, and that when the old gentleman passed away there would be little in the records regarding his interesting and eventful years. Judge Meldrum was a marvelous story teller and his remarkable memory amazed one when listening to him recall his adventures and experiences during the Civil War, in the employ of the Quartermaster Department at Little Rock, Arkansas, after the Civil War, while living on the Laramie Plains, during the making of early Wyoming history and throughout his many years in the nation's oldest national playground. With the remarks of former Superintendent Albright always in mind I decided to obtain from the lips of this nonagenarian some of the interesting stories he had so often related to me, to Mr. Albright and to his other park friends, so as to record them for the permanent Yellowstone Park Library, the archives of the State of Wyoming and the libraries of those who had followed the collection of Yellowstone literature.

Accordingly, on several days during 1933 and 1934, namely, November 23, 24, 27, 28, 29 and December 1, 1933 and October 23, 1934, I spent two

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Joseph Ioffe was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, on June 6, 1896, and was educated in the town of his birth. In November 1916 he entered the government service as a clerk in the Washington Office of the Panama Canal. He resigned from his position in 1918 to enter the military service during the World War and served in the U. S. Naval Reserve Force. Following his discharge from the Service he returned to Washington as a clerk in the office of the Chief of Staff of the War Department.

In March, 1920, Mr. Ioffe departed for Europe with the American Graves Registration Service, the Service which was responsible for returning the bodies of American soldiers to their homeland, and served for two years as chief clerk at the port of Antwerp, Belgium.

Returning to the States in March, 1922, Mr. Ioffe obtained a position with the National Park Service and was immediately sent to the Yellowstone to act as clerk and secretary to the superintendent of the park. He has been continually employed in the Wonderland since May 1, 1922, having been appointed to the position of assistant to the superintendent in 1927, which position he still holds.



to three hours on each occasion at the Judge's home and took down verbatim the accounts of his inspiring life. Each day as I would ask questions and lead him on to relating his experiences I would become so engrossed in the stories themselves and in his remarkable memory that I often found myself not making notes but just listening. However, I feel that what material was gathered from him will leave one lasting memorial to that great Yellowstone character. As one reads these detailed accounts as he gave them to me it is well to keep in mind that they are the words as actually spoken of one who was then over ninety years of age.

The material as related to me by Judge Meldrum was not in sequence but I have attempted to transpose it to make the events of his life follow as closely in order as possible.

## Chapter I

### Childhood Days

John W. Meldrum was born in Caledonia, New York, on September 17, 1843. While relating some of his early life to me he told me that he had his birth record, written by his mother when he was seven years old. Speaking of this birth record, he said: "I remember sitting at my mother's elbow when she wrote that record—remember it as well as anything. I was about seven years old.

"My father was a very religious man. My mother died when I was nine. My father wouldn't let you do anything on Sunday. He went to church; he lead the singing in the church; he was quite a singer; he used to teach music—vocal music. He didn't teach for pay but because he loved it. He had every kid in the neighborhood learning music so that he could get them to sing in Sunday School. One day he had taken my oldest sister and they had gone to church and my good mother thought she would take that time—she didn't have time during the week for anything like that—to write up the old family record and I sat at her elbow while she wrote it.

"I was fifteen when my father died. My mother died and left seven children and my father, an invalid—couldn't do anything. He was an invalid for about twelve years. He could get about some but was always sick—consumption. I could never understand how my poor father went through it all. It is a wonder he didn't commit suicide. He was a big fellow, six feet two, and strong as a buffalo. He died of consumption. He got a severe cold and he didn't take care of it and it finally developed into consumption and took him away.

"Speaking of experiences of my father—one day he was going out to teach a class of kids some singing. My oldest sister was with him. They were going down the road and something about the harness gave way, the horse commenced to



kick and tipped the buggy over and threw them onto a fence and broke my father's shoulder. They sent for a country doctor and two or three neighbors. They laid him on the floor there and put a sheet around his arm. I can see them now pulling that shoulder into place. That was number one.

"We had a pair of young horses and my father had been driving them. He put them in the stable one day after a drive and took the buffalo robe out of the sleigh. The buffalo robe scared the horse and he let go at him and split his kneecap. That was number two. He was an invalid all the time—tubercular.

"Well, he couldn't do anything about that. We ran the farm and he told us what to do. He was able to drive a team. We would load the grain and get it all ready for market. My father, even in this critical condition, would get up on the spring seat and drive the load of grain to town and get the money. Going to town one day with a load of grain—it was in the fall of the year. The roads were pretty bad those days and the wagon went into a chuckhole and he threw himself the other way and while doing so the wagon hit another chuckhole and threw him out on the frozen ground and broke his hip. Now, what do you think of that! That man drove to town and delivered that grain and rode back in a lumber wagon with a broken hip. That was the end of him though. He lived some time after that but he went on crutches the rest of his life. By golly, when I think of that it is just a mystery to me how he stood it."

The relating of the life and experiences of his father by Judge Meldrum early convinced me of the excellent character, stamina and fortitude he inherited from this man.

Taking up from the death of his father the following from his boyhood days was very vivid in the memory of the old Judge. After I had made a rough draft of the material I gathered from him on these several occasions I let him read it and he felt hurt that he had mentioned to me the name of his neighbor who caused him and his brothers so much grief. The Judge said that the old fellow was dead now and he did not want to say or do anything that would ever hurt anybody. Because of the Judge's attitude and wishes I promised him that I would refrain from using the name of this neighbor and, keeping that promise, I have substituted the fictitious name of "Smith".

"After my father died we managed to run the farm for two years before it was sold. The creditors came and took everything we had and then we had to quit. Joffe, you can't believe what we had to go through. One creditor drove into our barn with a team, pulling a hay rack. He drove in and

took the hay right out of our barn that we needed for our stock and put it on his wagon and went away with it. He had no right to do this. We were just kids—we didn't know what to do and he got away with it. I told him we needed that hay for our stock but he said that he didn't care, he was going to have what was coming to him. We could have had him arrested but we didn't know what our rights were. Joffe, we didn't have a soul, neighbor or relative, that ever lifted a hand to help us. We stuck to the ranch for two years, lived, by golly, just on what we raised, but we paid our father's debts. We left there with a clean bill of health.

"What happened after my father's death was an interesting story and one which I shall never forget. Every farmer boy had to work so hard in those days he thought anything was better than farming. However, after my father's death we all had to stay on the farm. My father was in debt and everyone wanted their money. So my father, on his death bed, called us around and told us that he was not going to be with us long and that he wanted Colonel Smith, who was our next door neighbor, appointed administrator of the estate. So his wishes were followed out and Colonel Smith was appointed administrator after my father's death. Well, the story of settling that estate was a nightmare.

"Joffe, I never knew a man could be so mean. This old fellow tried to cheat us out of the little we had left. However, we fooled him and beat him to it.

"Well, we worked the farm a couple of years but everybody seemed to feel that we owed them some money and they would come along and say: 'Here now, your father owed us so much money, we will take one of those steers for pay, or we will take a horse.' And they kept that up until they took everything we had. They left us so that we didn't have anything to work the farm with. So we just had to break up, one going here and one going there.

"I had made up my mind to learn a trade and was working at it in town at that time. This old administrator wanted his brother, whose farm adjoined ours, to have a certain part of our old farm. Another neighbor, on the other side, he wanted it also. Well, after a while they cooked up a job, the administrator and one of these fellows, and when the property was sold they wouldn't bid against each other but they would just bid enough on the property to pay the debts. Well, sir, a son of old man Smith's heard them put up this job. And by the way, this son was the fellow I have told you about so often who made the first grain binder. He was working at that time in

a little shop in the attic of the house of these fellows. They were down in the parlor, which they used only on special occasions in those days. They were putting up this job and the son heard them. He started out and found my brother and told him what he had heard. He told my brother that even if he was his father he was a damn old rascal. The farm was to be sold the next day. So my brother sent a message to me by this Jim Smith, telling me to go and see Charley Cameron, a rich old bachelor, and get him to go up there the next day and run the land up on those fellows.

"It was after dark when I got this message from my brother. I knew Charley Cameron well—he boarded at the same hotel I did. I was then learning my trade of wagonmaker. I thought Charley would come to the rescue but he was one of those scared fellows. He told me to go and see his brother, Angus, who I knew to be a regular skinflint. He was a rich man and had made all of his money by taking advantage of people in distress. I would just about as well have bearded a lion in his den as to go and see Angus. However, I made up my mind and did go up and see him. They had a large savage dog in the yard and an old maid sister kept house for Angus. Mind you, it was dark and the dog nearly scared me to death. I finally managed to get by the dog and knocked on the door. His sister stuck her nose out of the door. I asked her if Mr. Cameron was in and she said that he was but that he was going to bed. I told her that I wanted to see him on some very important business. I told her to please tell him that John Mel-drum is down here and wants to see him on important business. Old Angus had shaved some notes for me before that and he came down. I told him what I wanted. I told him they were going to sell our farm tomorrow and told him of the job which had been put up on us and asked him to run the land up on those fellows. Well, it took a whole lot of talking. I finally told him that if he would do it I would give him \$5, that I would be there at six o'clock in the morning with a livery rig to take him up there. After a good deal more talking he finally said he would go. By this time it was getting along toward midnight. There was no livery stable in the town but there was one about a mile away at Mumford. So I hiked out to Mumford, saw the livery man and told him that I wanted a horse and buggy at five o'clock in the morning. He told me he would have it ready at five o'clock. I didn't have any where to go particularly so I stayed up all night. I had no place around there to sleep so I just hung around until morning.

"About five o'clock I got the horse and buggy and when I reached Camerons the old man came out. He always car-

ried an old black satchel which contained all his valuable papers. He carried this with him wherever he went. Imagine him trying that these days! He didn't trust the banks and he wouldn't leave them in the house. He came out with his old black satchel, got into the buggy and we started to drive on. He said he would like to drive around to George Thompsons. So we went over to George Thompsons and George hadn't had his breakfast yet. George brought out a little black jug containing some good whiskey. He gave old man Cameron a drink and that put him in fine shape. We had about a mile to go and when we came in sight of the farm he said that the land was worth about \$100 an acre. He was in fine shape now after that drink. Well, the old administrator was there, they had an auctioneer and the two men who put up the job, Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown, were there. They were all ready to 'kill the fatted calf'. They were going to sell right on the minute, nine o'clock.

"I was a little late. My brother told them this sale couldn't go on until I got there, that it was always nine o'clock until it was ten. He continued to protest that they wait until I get there, saying it would be before ten o'clock anyway. The auctioneer was a good friend of ours and my brother gave him a tip. The auctioneer said: 'Gentlemen, we better wait, the boy is right, it is always nine o'clock until it is ten.'"

"Well, sir, when they saw me coming in with old Angus Cameron they knew the job was up. My brother told them then to go on with the auction. Thirty seven dollars an acre would pay the debts which we owed. We had it all figured out. The auctioneer cried out: 'How much am I offered per acre?' and one of the fellows said \$30. Then they run it up to \$37 between the two of them. They stopped there. Old Angus piped in then and said: 'Five dollars more.' So the two had to bid again or lose the job. So they kept going on and on until they got up to \$63. Well, that wasn't nearly what it was worth. Sixty three dollars was Mr. Brown's last bid. Old Angus said to me: 'Should I hit him again?' My brother then said that that sounded good enough, to let it go at that. So it was knocked down at \$63 an acre. They expected to get it for \$37. After the auction I had to hunt cover because I couldn't face those fellows. I couldn't go out in the neighborhood for two months. But we beat them! We beat them at their own game!

"I didn't get any patrimony until after the War—I was only seventeen years old then. After the Civil War I went back and got my patrimony. It didn't amount to very much,



and Joffe, that is all I ever got from anybody in my life. Yes, sir, that little that I got out of that old farm was all I ever got from anybody.

## Chapter II

### Civil War Breaks Out

"About that time the War came on. My older brother and my younger brother they both enlisted right away. That was in 1861. We all held a council of war and my brothers said that it wouldn't do for us all to go to war, that I would have to stay home and take care of the girls. My youngest brother was only sixteen years old and this old administrator wasn't going to let him go. My brother said that he might just as well let him go because he would run away and go anyhow. So he went.

"I thought it a pretty hard deal, my two brothers going off to leave me here to take care of the family. I had nothing to do but agree. Anyhow, they went on. I stuck it out until sixty-two but I thought I couldn't stick it out any longer. By golly, the people would look at a young man and say: 'What are you doing here, why aren't you in the army?' I was never strong while a kid—I was really the puny one of the family. I had been ill shortly before this, almost at death's door. The doctor told me that I was going to die and all such stuff. This was just prior to my first enlistment and I wasn't passed. They turned me down for physical disability. Well I felt kind of chagrined to think that I wasn't a man, that I wasn't good enough to be a soldier. So, I kept working at my trade until '63. Then I tried to enlist again and they took me this time."

Relating back to the early days of his life in Caledonia, Judge Meldrum said:

"During the time that I was working at my trade of wagon-maker, I was living at Caledonia. That was in 1863. At that time the first railroad was built through there. I saw the first telegraph operator there I ever saw and, of course, we all stood in amazement. It came out on a ticker then. The operator would pull out the tape and read it. Well, by golly, that was just a mystery to all of us. But there was a kid whose father was freight agent at this station who was hanging around and listening in at the telegraph and he wanted to learn telegraphy. The agent never took a message by ear, always by tape, but that kid learned to take a message by ear. Well, they thought he was just a wonder and his name was Gus Mead and he developed into a very expert telegrapher, went to New York and that was the last I ever heard of him. He was

the first person I ever heard of who took a message by ear. Of course, that is just a side issue—probably wouldn't interest anybody else, but it is so marked on my brain I can just see it. The agent's name was Hugh Sinclair. (The Judge recalled all names from memory without the slightest hesitation.)

Getting back to the Smith family who lived next door in the early days at Caledonia, the Judge said:

"Jim Smith, the fellow I told you about who informed us of the job his father was putting over on us, was the man who made the first grain binder. He worked on his invention for about fourteen years and he made it go about 1878. Here's another thing in connection with Jim Smith. His patent attorney, George B. Sheldon, was the man who made the first gasoline automobile. I knew him very well and saw his drawings long before he ever made the machine. Once while he was with the Smiths they received their royalties paid by the big reaper men. They came through Sheldon, their attorney. Some Auburn people had just paid their royalty amounting to \$50,000.00. There were two Smith boys, Jim and John. Jim was the original inventor and John came in later. Anyway, they pulled down the royalty that day, Jim got two-thirds and John one-third. I said: 'By golly, I would like to make money that easy.' When I said that Sheldon made this remark: 'Boys, I will show you something one of these days just as wonderful as your reaper. I will show you a carriage going around here without horses.' Upon saying this he pulled down a big book with his drawings in it. He made the first gasoline automobile. I have a picture of Jim's model of the reaper in an old album.

### Civil War Days

Judge Meldrum joined the Union army in 1863. He went through Grant's campaign of 1864 and stated that he probably saw more of real war than lots of fellows that served four years. However, he did not want to talk about these things but I persuaded him to relate some of the incidents of the war, which he did, as follows:

"On one occasion I lay on the floor of a building in Fredericksburg with dead men lying beside me \* \* \*. A corps of civilian surgeons came down from New York and Philadelphia—the army didn't have half enough to take care of their wounded. This was after the battle of the Wilderness in Spottsylvania. They came down and for a solid week they sawed arms and legs, night and day. They all had to be amputated. I don't think I am exaggerating when I say they amputated a wagon load of arms and legs at Fredericksburg. This was after Spottsylvania and the Battle of the Wilderness.

"I enlisted at Rochester, New York, in the 14th New York Heavy Artillery, in the summer of '63. We were in camp for a while at New York Harbor at the different forts around there until the Campaign of the Wilderness opened in 1864—May 4, 1864. I remember the date as well as if it were yesterday. On May 4, 1864 Hancock's division took the lead, crossed the Rapadan at Germania Forde and went into the Wilderness. We were near Culpepper, Virginia. We stood in line all day waiting for orders to move. Some of the men dropped in their tracks, standing in the sun, it was the hardest work in the world - just waiting.

"This is just an incident of war. I suppose it occurs in every war. A boy next to me just collapsed—slumped right down. The senior major of the company came along and said: 'Get up!' at the top of his voice. Well, the poor devil wasn't hardly able to get up. He said: 'Give me time!' The officer hit him with the flat of his sword right over the head. And this young fellow said: 'God damn you, I'll kill you!' And, by golly, the officer was killed a short time after that.

"We were camped near Culpepper and Brandy Station. The Battle of the Wilderness was fought, I should say, about 15 or 20 miles from Fredericksburg. There was no big battle near Culpepper. Two of the big battles of the war were at Chancellorsville. This battlefield and the battlefield of the Wilderness adjoin—they were not far apart. The foliage there, the trees were so dense you couldn't see 50 yards ahead of you many places. The woods got afire—lots of fellows burned to death. It was fearful, just fearful, Joffe, by golly.

"Hancock started out on the 4th of May to cross the Rapadan. That was the beginning of the campaign of 1864, when Grant took command of the army. Hancock started out, he crossed the Rapadan and went to what they called the Brock Road. I think Warren's corps was the next to cross the Rapadan, the next day. They crossed at Kelley's Ford. We belong to the 9th Corps—Burnside was commander. We were held at Brandy Station awaiting orders. We got orders the 5th to join the troops in the Wilderness. We marched all night, all the next day and got into the Wilderness on the 6th of May. Business was going on right then, I'll tell you.

"About the 8th of May we got out of the Wilderness on the way to Spottsylvania. The battle of Spottsylvania was on the 12th of May. (These dates the Judge gave me all from memory. He had no references whatever.) On the march I was overtaken with some brain trouble and for a period I was kind of between night and day. I couldn't therefore give you a very

accurate report of what happened then. We lay around on the ground at different places. If it hadn't been for the Christian Endeavor and the Christian Commission I think we would have starved—a lot of us. All we had to eat was what they gave us. Well, I was finally discharged in September, 1864. I never got strong again for a long while—I never completely recovered."

Speaking of horrible incidents of the War, the Judge said:

"During these times I saw such sickening, sickening scenes I don't like to talk about them. When we landed in Washington, the transport, we landed at Belle Plaine. I remember a woman came on the boat after we had landed. There was a young fellow lying on the deck right next to me. She came and grabbed him around the neck and kissed him and she asked: 'Where's Jim, 'or Bill, or whatever the brother's name was. The boy looked up and said: 'Mother, he's in a box over there (pointing).' That scene is burned into my memory.

"The one that touched me most was this. When the ambulance train was going from the battlefield John Mosby came down and jumped the ambulance train in the night and stole all the mules, and left the ambulance standing there full of wounded men. There was one boy—he wasn't, I don't think, more than 15, if he was that old—all shot to pieces. He was in terrible agony and he begged them to take him out of the ambulance and let him lie on the ground. They took him out. This was after Mosby had taken all the transportation—we were all stranded there. They laid this boy down. It was the most pitiful thing to hear that poor boy call for his mother. (Judge cried while telling me this—there was a break in his voice—tears were coming down his cheeks.) The scenes, Joffe, would make a book. Just similar scenes would make a book.

"One young fellow—one of a hundred—was shot right through the wrist. I told him that he ought to put some cold water on it—it was all black and swollen. He said: 'Oh, the damn thing will have to be cut off anyhow!' He walked a distance of about 14 miles in that condition. Weeks after, when I was in the hospital, I heard a fellow making the darnest racket, hollering and cursing. They brought him out on a stretcher, took him into the operating room and cut his arm off. When they brought him back in his good arm was hanging down, holding on to the stretcher. He said: 'I told you they would have to cut the damn thing off!' This was that same kid. The bone was all honeycombed. He carried a piece of that bone around in his pocket after that. That was just one of the incidents.



"The Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission were what the Red Cross is today. They would come around and bring delicacies to eat. They would come around, and occasionally a priest or minister would come around. There was a minister in there one day and I was feeling pretty punk that day. He asked the surgeon to point out the critical cases to him, so the surgeon pointed over to me. The surgeon told him that I wouldn't last 24 hours. Well, I just said to myself, I'll just fool you. They thought I didn't hear and I let on like I didn't. That minister came over. I was a Christian boy then. I often wished that I had passed on. The minister came over and said: 'You know you are very, very sick and that you are liable not to be here tomorrow. Would you like to have me pray for you?' I told him: 'Sure, I had no objections.' I thought all the time I would be here tomorrow. And I was there tomorrow and several more tomorrows. They made a fellow feel like he was pretty near the brink.

"All the nurses we had were convalescent soldiers. There was not a woman nurse. I never saw one during the entire war. The soldiers would lie and dress their own wounds. \* \* \* Every wounded fellow had a tin basin and a sponge. Think of it—a tin basin and a sponge. Why, they wouldn't allow a sponge in a hospital today any more than they would a snake. That was the paraphernalia they had. Every fellow who had a bad wound had a tin basin and a sponge. I saw a man, shot in the thigh, with a hole as big as a broom handle, put the basin under his wound, take a sponge and let the water run through the wound into the basin—dressing his own wound. Gosh!

"There was a convalescent soldier in the hospital at the time I was by the name of Newton, I think. I would give anything if I could get in touch with that fellow today, but he is no doubt gone. He was a little older man than I. That fellow waited on me and carried me around like I was a baby. \* \* \* Well, that fellow, I owe him my life. We don't think of those things when we ought to. If I had that man's address I would like to get in communication with him—but I know he isn't living. That fellow was a great big strong man but was convalescing—he had been wounded. He was my savior.

"They had to fill me up with quinine. There was a light hanging about 15 feet from where my cot was. I would just lie there looking at that light for hours. I was full of morphine. If I had taken all the medicine they prepared for me it would have killed me. I used to throw it out and get away with it.

"I saw so many touching incidents there, Joffe. There was a fellow just across the aisle in the hospital—he faced me—and he was shot in the shoulder. I thought he was making a

darn lot of fuss for the wound he had. I got kind of out-of-patience with him—he made so much noise. But, by golly, the poor fellow was dead one morning, when we were looking for him to keep on complaining. Possibly he had taken pneumonia. They didn't know what pneumonia was then. We used to call it inflammation of the lungs those days.

"Another case. One day a girl came in. She had a little basket on her arm. She looked all around and came in like a scared cat. The hospital steward, I think it was, asked her if she was looking for some one. She said she was and when she told him his name he said he was right over there. That was an affecting scene. She had come from way down east—I think Massachusetts. She just dropped her basket and got her arms around the fellow's neck and they had it out. He was badly wounded. It was her sweetheart.

"Those are just some of the incidents—they occurred every day. There was a young fellow in the next ward to me that had his leg amputated three different times. Gangrene set in and they had to cut him three times. He was a young fellow, just a boy, and he had good nerve. He would say: 'I'll get well, I'll get a wooden leg and will be just as good as ever.' He had his foot torn off with a shell. They started amputating his ankle, then later between the ankle and the knee, and then they took off another chunk just below the knee. \* \* \* When old Sherman said was was hell, he didn't say half of it.

"You may think I am a pessimist, but do you know I have often thought I would have been better off to have been killed and buried on the battlefield. It would have saved a whole long life of struggling for existence and a whole lot more to account for in the end. I would have gotten by pretty easily then, probably. My kid brother—his bones are bleaching somewhere in Virginia—I think he had the best of it, by golly. He got out of the whole trouble early in life.

### War Record of Brother Norman

"My older brother, Norman, had a great war record. He had three horses shot from under him. Harry Gilmore, in his book 'Four Years in the Saddle', tells of an encounter with my brother. He had a hand-to-hand encounter with him. My brother was on Hunter's staff. He was going out one day with an escort of about 30 men. They had just dismounted in a ravine and, by golly, here came Gilmore right in behind them with his outfit. He was a rebel leader, like Mosby. He was a kind of independent fellow. When they saw Gilmore, my brother turned around and said: 'Boys, it's fight or go to Libby,

for my own part I'm going to tackle these fellows.' (So they stood their ground and had it out. My brother had his black stallion and Gilmore shot his horse right through the head. The horse fell and my brother went down and caught his foot under the horse. Gilmore emptied his pistol at him but didn't hit him. Of course, Gilmore, in his book, said he got the best of my brother. My brother used to say, 'Well, if he got the best of me, why didn't he take me prisoner. We got away from him.' That was published in a paper. Somebody who saw it in the paper wrote back home. That was the first newspaper notice any body from our town had had. They thought it was something great, seeing something about their own boys published in the newspaper. I had the clipping but an old uncle of mine talked me out of it. I wish I had it now. This fellow's name was Harry Gilmore.

"My brother was a fellow worth while—he made his mark. Norman H. Meldrum was his name. (Judge had pictures of his brother hanging in his office, one taken just after the war on the horse which he rode back and the other when he was Secretary of State for Colorado. The picture taken when he was Secretary of State and a candidate for Governor had a splendid write-up regarding him on the back thereof).

### **Discharge and Return to Caledonia**

"I was discharged from the hospital in 1864. Then I came home and my brother came back two or three days after. He had been all through the hospitals in Washington looking for me. I hadn't heard anything of him. One day, one of these Smith boys, who had been our pal, came rushing in and said that Norman was here looking for me. I thought he was joking. But he was there and had come just as he had been on the battlefield, with his uniform and spurs on. He had 30 days leave so we put in the 30 days together and he went back to his outfit. He stayed until the war was all over.

"You see, Joffe, after my brother and I went off to war the administrator didn't know whether we were dead or alive. It was October, 1864, when my brother, Norman, came home on leave and I had just been discharged. He didn't know where I was and I didn't know where he was. I hadn't heard from my brother since the campaign started in the spring. It was a remarkable thing—we reached our boyhood home within four or five days of each other.

Shortly after we got back the first thing we decided to do was to go and visit this old Colonel Smith's sons. There were six of them and we had all been just like brothers. So we went

to call on the Smiths. We rode those two horses that my brother had brought with him—it was about three miles. When we got to the Smith home we didn't find anyone at home. On the way back to our house we met the old Colonel on the road, just about dark. I really think he thought we were ghosts. Both of the horses we were riding were military horses and I think that he must have thought somebody was coming to arrest him. I think he must have thought of what he had done to us. He said: 'Boys, God has taken care of you!' So, I forgot all about his treatment of us and I have long since forgiven him. Let him rest."

### Chapter III

#### **Life in Little Rock, Arkansas**

Following his discharge and return to Caledonia after the war, the next chapter of Judge Meldrum's life is centered around Little Rock, Arkansas, of which he had the following to say:

"After I had had about three months of good feed and nursing in Caledonia I got back to being quite myself. So, I said to myself: 'Young fellow, you must do something. You can't loaf. Your life's ahead of you and you have to do something.' So, that is when I went to Little Rock, Arkansas.

"Really, that whole thing would sound like a fairy tale. I saw a notice in a Rochester paper that the government wanted all kinds of mechanics, teamsters, laborers, etc., to go to the different posts of the army. So, they had a local agent in Rochester, this advertisement told where he could be found. So I went and interviewed him. I asked him what the government paid and he told me that they paid teamsters \$45 a month, laborers \$45 a month, and that they paid mechanics, it didn't make any difference what kind, \$75 a month. Well, I thought that sounded pretty good. That was the biggest job I had ever had offered me in my life, so I told him to just put me down, that I was going with them. He told me when to be ready. Well, we started for St. Louis.

"We had quite a batch of fellows with us. You had to enlist, just like the C. C. C. men today. You had to enlist for six months, take the oath of allegiance and be willing to serve with a gun, if necessary. That wasn't hard for me to do. We got to St. Louis and signed up, ready to go to Arkansas. There were different posts where they were sending the men. Kansas City was one of the places—it was nothing but a little shanty then. They were sending men there and to Little Rock and to other places. So I chose Little Rock. Well, they chartered a steamer but the man wouldn't sail for the reason that it was



reported that the White River was infested by bushwackers and that they would shoot the tar out of us if we went down on the boat. So the fellow held up for five or six days. They finally gave him an escort and we finally made the station which connected with Little Rock. We got there without anybody being killed. The pilot was protected with boiler iron all around him. We had all around the deck of the boat piled up with oat and grain sacks, six feet high—probably three rows of them. We could stand behind those oat sacks and let them shoot. They didn't have anything that would go through three oat sacks.

"The only railroad was 40 miles—built through a swamp. The mud would fly all over the cars as they went over the rails. That was the condition when we struck Little Rock. I signed up as a carpenter. They gave us a hatchet and saw and told us to go over and report to the foreman and he would tell us what to do. They put us on a building, pounding shingles. I could pound shingles as good as any old fellow. All you had to know was to saw a board straight and pound nails. But, what I knew about mechanics was worth a fortune to me. I could do a better job than fifteen out of twenty of them. My old dad's instructions to me when I was a kid was: 'Whatever you do, do the best you can!' So I did just that. I never dropped my hammer until after the bell sounded. They sounded a bell instead of a bugle. Well, I was only fifteen days on that job and I went to the foreman. I had his good will in that fifteen days. He saw that I was always on deck and was doing just the best I could. I asked him if he couldn't get me into the carpenter shop. It was pretty cold working outside on those roofs—it was December. He told me that the carpenter shop was pretty well filled up. I then asked him how about the wagon shop. He asked me if I could work at that and I told him I could work at anything made out of wood. I thought to myself, now or never! So he said he thought he might be able to get me in the wagon shop.

### **Promoted to Assistant Foreman**

"He took me over to the foreman of the wagon shop and asked him if he could give me a job. The foreman was a Dutchman—a big six footer. His name was Louis Weil. Weil said: 'Well, I guess so. What can you do?' I told him I thought I could do anything I had to do here. He asked me what I knew about wagons and I told him I knew all about them, that I had helped make them. I had learned the wagon makers trade. He told me to go and inspect the wagons, to inspect them carefully, to take the wheels off and see that they were in proper condition and so on. So, I inspected all the government wagons. I just had a fine job. I don't know how long that took.

But in the meantime I got acquainted with the assistant foreman—a nice fellow. I don't know why it was but he kind of took to me and told me that he was going to quit there, and asked me if I wouldn't like to have his job. He was a white collar fellow. I told him, you bet I would, if I could get it. He told me that he belived I could. He said he would go with me to Weil and see about it. Wel was a kind of gruff old Dutchman and he asked me if I could do this, if I could do that, and if I could do this, and so on. I told him I could. The main thing was to see that the men were provided with material, keep time, etcetera. So I got the assistant foreman position.

### **Gets to be Foreman**

"Well, when the war closed—this was just a short time before the closing of the war—everybody wanted to dig for home. A lot of them went into business. If they could get permission from the Government they could go into business. This fellow Weil wanted to start a beer saloon. So he made application for a Government permit to start a saloon. I was hoping that he would get it. Well, he got the permit. In the meantime, I got pretty well acquainted with the superintendent. I asked him who was going to be foreman. He said that he hadn't thought about it. I told him Weil was going away and he asked me how I would like to have the job myself. Well, I didn't say this but I thought to myself: 'Did a duck swim?' So I got to be foreman, over men old enough to be my grandfather.

### **From Foreman to Assistant Superintendent**

"Then the war closed. I got a telegram from my brother asking me to meet him in Rochester on such and such a day, that we were going West. I went to Rochester and found a letter from my brother, written in Leavenworth. The regiment was on their way west, it said. So I made my trip for nothing—not exactly that because I had a good time. When I got back to Little Rock I found there had been a conspiracy in the wagon shop. They thought the foreman ought to be an older man. They had a petition signed to present to the superintendent. They had picked out somebody else for foreman. When I got back my place was kind of in the air. The superintendent told me not to mind those fellows—that he wanted me to come and help him in his office. He told me he would take me for his assistant. This fellow he had was not altogether satisfactory and he was going to let him go. I knew all the work from the ground up—just what was going on. He said that he wanted somebody to go on the outside and look after different crews. By golly, I got to be assistant superintendent. Got a nigger to make my bed for me.

### Made Superintendent

"They were getting up an expedition to go to Albuquerque, New Mexico. That was the first time I ever heard of Albuquerque and I didn't know how they spelled that name. They sent an outfit there and needed a long line of wagons. Soon before they got ready to go the superintendent came to me and said that he was going with the expedition. He said that he was tired of his job and that he wanted to go out and see that country—it was absolutely new then. Well, I said 'Oscar, who will get your place when you go away?' This fellow was a nephew of Colonel Noble. In the meantime I had gotten pretty well acquainted with the Colonel. He said: 'Come on, let's go up and see the Colonel, right now.' He told the Colonel he thought he would go with this expedition and that he would like to have me for his place. The Colonel looked at me. I was just a barefaced kid. He had a full beard. He said: 'Jack, do you think you can swing it?' I said: 'I will make an awful hard try, Colonel.' I got it. That was all there was to it. I was the big man then.

"After I became superintendent in Little Rock then the trouble began. Colonel Noble wanted to quit. He wanted to go home. The war was over by this time and he wanted to get out. He was succeeded by Colonel Henry Page. Colonel Page and I got along fine but his stay there was very brief. He also wanted to get home after a short while. I don't think he was there a month. He was succeeded by Alexander Montgomery, a regular army officer. Well, sir, here's where the fun started. (Judge showed me a picture of the old arsenal building at Little Rock, built in the '20s, over which he had some difficulty with Colonel Montgomery. The building was used as a storehouse at the time he was superintendent at Little Rock.)

"Colonel Montgomery was there quite a while before he ever came in to see me. He walked by my office every day for a week but never stopped in. He was a strange old fellow, with gray hair and a gray clipped moustache. He always carried a cape, with one side thrown back. I thought he would never come in to see me but one day here came an orderly into my office, post haste (he put me in mind of Colonel Benson.) The orderly came in a flying and said: 'The compliments of Colonel Montgomery. He wants to see the superintendent AT ONCE!' I thought, well here goes, so I jumped on my horse, I had a better horse than the Colonel, and rode up to the office. I went in and here was a long table with about four to six commissioned officers sitting around with a map on the table. They seemed very much interested. Old Colonel

Montgomery looked up and said: 'Are you the superintendent?' I said: 'Yes, Sir'. He said: 'I wish you would look over these plans here.' I saw they had blue prints made. They wanted to change the old building into an officers quarters. As the plans were spread out on the table he asked me to look them over. I didn't know anything about what they were going to do, but I looked wise and interested. He asked me if that building could be transformed in accordance with those plans. I told him that I didn't see any reason why they couldn't. He asked me if I could make him a perspective of that building. I told him that I could (I was thinking fast all that time.) I had a foreman who was a good architect and I was thinking of him. He asked me how long it would take and I told him probably a week. 'All right,' he said, 'you have that done and bring it up just as soon as you can.' So I went to Wallace—that was the foreman's name—and told him I had a job for him. I told him to go up to George Gibbs and get whatever he needed in the way of ink and drawing paper and make a perspective of the arsenal building and to do it just as fast and fine as he could. He said he could do it in a couple days—so I told him to get busy.

"After the drawing was finished, I armed myself with it and went up to the Colonel's office. He spread the drawing out on the table, looked at it and said: 'Capital, Capital'. Then he told me to proceed to fix the building according to these plans. So I went out and got a crew of men—I had all kinds of good men then—and started to work. Of course, I had to get a lot of lumber and other things.

"The post commander of the Little Rock post was an infantry officer by the name of Smith. Colonel Smith had a regiment there. He was post commander. So Colonel Smith would come in every day and find fault with what we were doing. It didn't suit him at all. I told him I was doing it according to the orders of the Chief Quartermaster. He got so darned nasty that I just had a break with him one day. I told him: 'I am doing this work under the direction of the Chief Quartermaster. If you have any complaints to make, you go to him. I have heard enough about it. That is the end of that.' But he didn't go to the Chief Quartermaster, he went to the Commanding General, who was old General E. O. C. Ord, one of the prominent Union generals of the army. He was one of the few very marked generals of the Union Army. (Here the Judge told me that he could name every important general in both the Union and Confederate armies.) So the Colonel's orderly came down to my office on the gallop. He said: 'Compliments of Colonel Montgomery. The Colonel would like to have you report to General Ord at his headquarters.' I thought, by golly, I'm tangled up now with the Commanding General,



I better look out. I jumped my horse and rode up to General Ord's headquarters. Joffe, I can remember as he sat there, his position, just as well as if it were yesterday. The adjutant general was in the front room and the old general in the back. I came in and saluted the adjutant general and told him who I was and told him I had a message to report to General Ord. He told me that General Ord was in the next room, so I went in. General Ord was sitting with his legs crossed. I noticed he had Government socks. He was a plain old fellow. He looked up and I stood there. He said: 'Are you the superintendent, Mr. Meldrum?' I said: 'Yes, sir.' 'What is the matter with you and Colonel Smith?' He told me that Colonel Smith had lodged complaints that I was superintending work at the arsenal and that he went in to make suggestions about it and that I was impudent to him. But the first thing the General said to me when I came in was: 'You look like a man who had some judgment, you ought to know your business.' I said: 'General, I thank you, I believe I do.' Then he went on and told me about the charges. So we talked it all over and I stated the case just as it occurred. I told him that I was doing that work under the direction of Colonel Montgomery, the Chief Quartermaster, that I couldn't change it to suit Colonel Smith and that he ought to know that. 'Well!' said the General, 'that's all right. You go back. We'll see about this.' So I went out. The old Quartermaster he had had a lookout watching for me. The orderly came in to my office after I got back and said that the Colonel wanted to see me. I went to see him and he asked: 'What did the General say?' I told him. 'GOOD, GOOD,' he said. He gave me something that day I would give a hundred dollars in gold if I had it today. The old man sat down and wrote me a letter directing me to go and finish that building according to specifications and that this would be my authority for doing it irrespective of what anybody else suggested. The funny part of it was you couldn't read it after he wrote it. You couldn't read it to save your soul. He wrote it and then he read it to me. I would never have known what was in it if he hadn't read it to me. (The Judge reflected a keen sense of humor while telling this.) I kept that letter for years. Yes, I would give more than a hundred dollars if I had it today.

"So I took the letter and started back. He said: 'Now, if that damn Yankee gives you any more of his lip, slap his mouth and I will stand by you.' That is what the old Colonel said; Well, that finished that war. We got along for a while.

"I thought I was getting along well until one morning when I was in my office in came the old Colonel's orderly. He was looking kind of pale and kind of trembling and he said that the Colonel wanted to see me right away. I asked him, where,

and he told me in the blacksmith shop. I went over to the blacksmith shop and this was my greeting: 'You're a dam pretty superintendent!—or 'a damn fine superintendent!—There was sarcasm in his voice. 'By golly', thinks I, 'what is the matter?' He turned around and there was a baby buggy that had been brought into the Government shop to be fixed. One of the springs was broken. It was the first baby buggy I ever saw. It would cost the Government probably fifteen cents to fix it. He was just crazy mad. 'That's a dam pretty thing to have in a government shop', he said. He never gave me time to say a word, he just kept on talking, cussing and stamping his feet, right in front of my men. We finally went into my office and I said to him: 'Colonel, I served as a private soldier in the Union army and I never had an officer reprimand me or say an unkind word to me.' I said: 'I am not a private soldier now—I am an American citizen—If I don't suit you you get somebody else to run this business.' I said: 'If I was a private soldier you might cuss me, but you can't as a private citizen.' Well, he kind of coughed and went out and went over to his office. His orderly came in and told me that I was wanted in the office. So I went in to the office—McCormick was the chief clerk. McCormick was sitting there like he was going to be crucified. He said: 'Colonel ordered me to pay you off.' I said: 'All right, you can't do it any too quick.' He told me to shush and pointed to the Colonel's room. I told him that I didn't care, that I was ready to go. I was talking pretty loud and McCormick was trying to appease me. And, by golly, here came old Colonel out of his office. He walked out of the door with his glasses on his nose and said to McCormick: 'What's the matter?' He said: 'Didn't you direct me to pay Mr. Meldrum off.' He said: 'No, I didn't do anything like that.' Well, sir, McCormick didn't dare contradict him. The old man was just fine to me then. He asked me to come into his office and after we went in he closed the door and asked me to sit down. So I sat down. And he said: 'Mr. Meldrum, I like you but you are quicker than a pepper pod.' 'Well', I said, 'Colonel, I think I had occasion to show the resentment.' He said: 'Why, what did I do?' I told him that in the presence of at least fifty of my men he said that I was a damn fine superintendent. 'Oh!' he said, 'I didn't say that.' I said: 'Well, you did Colonel, that is just what you said.' He kept on talking and finally said: 'You go back and tend to your work and we will forget this.' I told him that I would go half way anytime with anybody. So I went back and I never had a better friend than old Colonel Montgomery.

"I will tell you what started the whole stink. He had a nephew, Captain Garland. Garland was in charge of the

transportation, the mules and all transportation which carried supplies from Little Rock to the outposts. I had charge of fixing up the transportation, shoeing the mules and repairing the wagons. He thought because he was the Colonel's nephew that he didn't have to ask me when he wanted something done. So he put some mules in one day and told the foreman he wanted them shod the same day. Well, the foreman told him he would have to go to the superintendent and get an order before he would shoe any of them. So he had to come to me for the order and that made him mad. Where he was boarding they had a baby and they had this baby buggy. They busted the spring one day but he wouldn't come over and ask me because he knew I wouldn't let him have it fixed. So he slipped it into the blacksmith shop and told the foreman he wanted it fixed. They never fixed it—it was just standing in the shop. This was the cause of all the trouble. When I was in the office with the Colonel I told him that it all started over his nephew. I told him everything that had happened. That gave him a different picture. Well, that settled that party. After that I never had a better friend than old Colonel Montgomery and when he went away he said: 'I am going to Fort Niagara.' Just think, that was within fifty miles of my home in New York. He was going to Fort Porter, Niagara Falls. He said: 'If you will go with me I will give you the best job at my command there.' Well, I knew he had several others to look after before he got to me, and I didn't want to go anyway. I thanked him and told him that although that was but fifty miles from my old home, I preferred to stay. That was the parting between Colonel Montgomery and I.

"Well, the next Quartermaster was Joseph Pierce. Joseph was a gruff fellow but we never had any war. The only thing I recall that he found fault about was one day he came along by the blacksmith shop and the man that brought the coal had thrown it down near the door and some had scattered outside. Pierce came along and saw that coal. He came to my office and said: 'I wish you would have them clean that coal up—it doesn't look right scattered around there.' That was the only word of fault he ever found.

"My next Quartermaster was Captain Forsyth. Captain Forsyth was a fine fellow. We never had an unkind word pass between us. Captain Forsyth was on the job when I said 'good bye' to Little Rock.

"It was while I was superintendent that I had the only fight I ever had while I was grown. When I was a kid I would rather fight than eat but it was the only fight that I had when I was a grown man. (Judge told me of this incident, which

happened in an eating house, when a big fellow drew a knife on him. The Judge hit him over the head with his chair, and that ended that.)

"Another incident. While I was superintendent there was a fellow who came in and asked for a job. Well, there was a railing all around my desk, as high as four feet, and I had a little wicket in it. The fellow came up and asked for a job. I asked him what he could do and he said he was a first class painter and paper hanger. He was a pretty lippy cuss. Well, I told him I would see about it, that I couldn't give him a job just then. Before I left as superintendent we fixed up all the government buildings that the government had occupied. We put everything in perfect order before we left there. So I employed this fellow when we got to paper hanging and so on. He was just the man I needed for that work. One day when I went over to the paint shop he was mixing paste and he said: 'Boys, I've seen the day when I thought that would have been damn good grub.' Well, I said: 'Bonnell, (that was his name) were you in the army?' He said: 'You bet I was, I was a good old Johnny Reb. I told him I didn't think that made any difference with his capabilities as a paper hanger. He was a pretty good fellow and pretty lippy. Well, later, when he got through and he came in to get his time he said: 'Now, do you remember the day I came and asked you for a job?' I told him I did. He said: 'Do you know what I thought? I thought you were a damn stuck-up stinker. But I found out you were a mighty good fellow.'

"Here's another incident. I told you about that expedition going to Albuquerque. In the cavalry regiment was a major. I think he was the only officer who had his wife. We called the wagons ambulances in those days. An officer's wagon would be an ambulance. He wanted an ambulance fixed for his wife to ride in. She was going with them overland all the way to Albuquerque. I told him I would fix it up for him. He said he had a rocking chair which he would bring down and wanted the rocking chair put in the wagon somewhere so she would be comfortable. So we got together and fixed it in the wagon with springs. It was stationary and very comfortable. Well, he was so pleased with it that when he went away he left a note for me saying: 'Call at Lafferty & Royalty's store and ask for a bag.' After they had gone I went to the store and asked if there was a package for me. The fellow told me there was and took down a box. Here was a \$10 hat, by golly. This is only a part of this story.

"While I was here in the park when Colonel Wilder was superintendent I got talking to his wife one day. She was an



angel. I asked her where she lived, where she had spent her girlhood. She told me at Conesus Lake, in New York. This was a grape-growing country. Well, she went on to tell me that there were three sisters who married army officers, all of whom became generals, and one of them was the wife of the man that rewrote the drill regulations of the army and he went crazy over it and committed suicide. A fine fellow and a fine general! He lived not far from where I did back in New York. She said her oldest sister married him. Then she had another sister that married another army officer and she, the youngest, married Colonel Wilder. The other sister married this major that gave me the hat. She said she had heard her sister tell dozens of times about that wagon and how that chair was fixed up."

#### Chapter IV

### Wyoming Life

In 1867 Judge Meldrum left Little Rock and returned to New York state, where he was married, and then left for his honeymoon for the West, landing in Wyoming, where his life was full of interesting experiences and where he became one of the best known men in the Territory. Of this chapter of his life the Judge had the following to say:

"We'll get to July 1, 1867, when I completed my work at Little Rock. While I was there at Little Rock my brother came and asked me what I was going to do when I left there. He told me to come West with him. He had taken up some ground. He told me that when I got through at Little Rock I should go back to New York and buy a thrashing machine. He said there was lots of money in thrashing and that there was just one north of Denver, in Colorado. He told me to buy it and ship it to the terminus of the Union Pacific Road, which was somewhere down in Nebraska.

### Return to New York and Marriage

"Well, I went back to New York and bought the thrashing machine. There was a firm in my old town that built thrashing machines. There was another firm three miles from there that built them too. I thought I would patronize home industry but it was the biggest mistake I ever made. I told them I wanted a machine and asked them what they would charge to put it on the cars. There is a lot of paraphernalia connected with a thrashing machine. I told them that it was a cash transaction and asked them what they would charge to put a machine on the cars for me. They said \$500. That was about a hundred

dollars less than they would ordinarily have charged but usually they had to wait about two years for their pay. So I bought the machine and they shipped it.

"While back there I got married. So I took my wife and came out to Cheyenne. We struck there the 13th day of April 1868. I was married in 1867, about four months after I left Little Rock. We came west and struck Cheyenne April 13, 1868. Meanwhile, the thrashing machine had been shipped, got out to the end of the Union Pacific road, had to haul it from there to Fort Collins and when they got it laid down in Fort Collins the freight was \$611—more than the machine was worth. The grasshoppers had eaten everything there was in sight and there was nothing to thrash. So when I got out there they didn't even have a place to store the machine, they didn't have a building to store it in. She was leaned up against an old stable with some boards on it. I had gotten an oilcloth covering for it when it was shipped. The freight handlers had it all torn to pieces. But here was my thrashing machine leaning up against an old stable with some boards over it. I didn't thrash a bushel of wheat because the grasshoppers had eaten it all up and there was nothing to thrash.

### Reception at Cheyenne

"My brother, in the meantime, had a lumber yard in Cheyenne and was furnishing lumber to build Fort Russell. He had let the ranch out on shares to some young fellows from the East and they were running the ranch and he was running the lumber yard in Cheyenne. He was to have made provisions for our coming. There was another young man who was a lieutenant in the same company with my brother and he got married and we came out together—a couple of bridegrooms and brides.

"My brother came down to meet us and we were all dressed up like bridegrooms should be, wearing high silk hats and all. My brother told me I better cache that hat. He said that if I were to wear it up town somebody would shoot it off my head. He said he wouldn't wear it up the street for a million dollars. So I took his advice. We went up to the hotel where he had reserved rooms, or thought he had. It was later the Inter-Ocean hotel, but it was known as the Ford hotel then. He said to the landlord: 'Here's my brother and his friend and their wives and I wish to have those rooms you reserved for them.' But he said they didn't have any rooms left—the house was full and he was turning people away. My brother told them what he thought of them. The landlord finally said he could give us one room, that that was the best he could do. I told him to give the girls the room and we would go out and rustle. He

told us that he had lots of floor space in the office, lots of rugs and buffalo robes, but no beds. We spent the night in the office and were packed in like sardines. When you wanted to turn over you had to holler 'spoon'. That was how I spent my first night in Cheyenne.

"There was an old wit there who was hauling lumber from a saw mill in Colorado to Cheyenne. This fellow's name was Billy Patterson. He said to my brother: 'Don't you think we ought to give your brother a kind of entertainment?' My brother told him he thought it would be all right. He gave him some money and they went out. Well, they went out and played a mean prank. That was the reception they gave us. That was the first night we spent in Cheyenne. We didn't get much sleep.

### Introduction to Ranching

"Well, the next morning we had to prepare to go to the ranch, which was forty-five miles from Cheyenne. We had shipped our stuff out from New York. So I made arrangements with a freighter to haul our goods and went to a grocery store and bought some provisions. I had a wash tub full and it cost me over a hundred dollars. Things were very high—\$10 for a sack of flour, three pounds of sugar for a dollar, seventy five cents for a can of tomatoes. That was the price I paid. I went down to the livery stable, run by Reed & Abney. It was just next to where the Plains Hotel is now. I went there and hired a team to take us over to LaPorte, near Fort Collins. We hired a team, got an old surrey and the darn horses balked forty times on the road between Cheyenne and LaPorte. They would balk at every ditch or stream they came to. Finally, we got to a half-way station, kept by a friend of my brother. He had a stage line from Cheyenne to Fort Collins. This was his half-way station. We stayed there overnight.

"The next morning he asked my brother if he didn't think I would like to take a horseback ride. My brother told him he thought I would. I thought at that time I could ride anything with hair on it. So, we went out to the stable. They picked out a horse for me. It was a good looking horse. He saddled him up and my brother suggested that we better get the horse outside before I got on him. So we led him outside and I mounted him and he stood there looking one way and then the other—wasn't inclined to start. Joe Mason, my brother's cronie, said: 'Don't you think we ought to touch him up a little?' So they hit the horse and he commenced to buck. Well, I stayed with him. He was just an ordinary buckner. So they had their fun over the bucking horse. Well, we got over that and the next day we went on to the ranch.

"I never read of anybody going out to make a home but that comes back to me. My brother had had his house about half built. There was a pile of debris in the front of it, plaster and shavings and pieces of board up half as high as the door. We got inside. There was a stove in there but not a darn sign of a bed, or a table. So the first ten days that we spent in there we slept on the floor without anything but what we had taken in the coach with us, a buffalo robe and blankets. Our table was a cracker box, about a foot high, and we sat on the floor for chairs and that is how we put in the first ten days ranching.

"I had to go to Fort Collins every other day to see if the teams had gotten in with our stuff. In the meantime, it had rained, snowed, sleeted and everything else. In about ten days a fellow rolled in with the stuff—soaked and resoaked. He got caught in the storm, his oxen got lost and he was hunting them and my good stuff was out there with the elements playing with it.

"Well, we were on this ranch in LaPorte. Half of our neighbors were Frenchmen with squaw wives. Old Chief Friday of the Shoshonis had a camp about three miles away from the ranch. The Indians used to come around daily nearly to visit us. They always wanted something to eat. Well, we couldn't feed all the tribe, so we would feed two or three of them. After we had given them all we thought was necessary we would make the Indian sign for 'All Gone'. We would get rid of them after a while. I had to go a mile to get milk. The nearest water we had was the river, a mile away. We had to haul our water from the river to the ranch house. Not a thing, not a convenience, nothing to do anything with did we have at the place. There was no fuel. We had to go six or seven miles for fuel. The only fuel was the pieces of boards and timber that had been thrown out from the building of the shack.

"I have often thought if I had the pep now that I had then I could make a world in a couple weeks. Nothing fazed me in those days.

"Well, I bought a team, a wagon, some milch cows, built a door-yard fence, skinned the poles, skinned the posts, dug the holes myself, built the fence, painted the fence—in fact, I did everything myself. The last time I was there six or seven years ago, the gate I made was still there. I made that gate and that was all that was left of the front fence, the gate. My brother was in Cheyenne busy with his lumber business and I was alone to do all the work.

"The friend of my brother who came out with me had a ranch adjoining mine and he was there all the time.



"We really didn't have much trouble with the Indians. They used to come and steal our stock. My brother used to laugh when anyone would say that the Indians would kill anyone. All they ever wanted was to steal your stock.

"I worked all summer getting the ranch fixed up. My brother, of course, was in Cheyenne tending to his business there. I got a carpenter and we built that house. (The Judge showed me a picture of the house. It had been hanging on his wall for many years.) I hauled the brick from Cheyenne, forty-five miles. I hauled the lime twenty miles the other way, from Loveland. I got the sand out of the bottom of the river. I mixed the mortar, carried the brick and built those chimneys myself, and they are standing there today. Every lick of it I did myself. I packed the mud up the ladder on to the roof. Joffe, I am not saying these things in a boastful way just to show you what you had to go through in those days.

"We got through the summer all right and we were decently comfortable. I built a barn, hauled the lumber out of the hills. It was hard work getting them out, the roads were terrible, they were steep and it was necessary to lock the wheels. I think every spoke on the back wheels was cracked. The same house and barn were standing the last time I saw them, six or seven years ago, just like when I built them.

### **A Near Tragedy**

"Now, I'll tell you about a near tragedy. I had my thrashing machine covered up with boards and as I told you it was alongside of a building with a straw roof. So, the thing to do was to get ready to thrash. I went around and engaged a lot of thrashing from the ranchmen in the neighborhood and I had to hire a crew. I had to have ten horses, I had one team of my own. I had to have four trams and three men to run the machine. We were all ready to start in. We started to thrash at a neighbor's ranch. We got all underway and the machine ran about fifteen or twenty minutes and clogged up. Well, I saw at once what the trouble was. The capacity of the fanning mill wasn't adequate to separate the straw, chaff, etcetera from the grain. The dry grain out in this country stops up when it is put through a machine. The fanning mill needed about three times the capacity it did back East. Well, after trying half a dozen times and the men who owned the ranch around there fretting and wanting to know what's the matter and jumping around it was quite embarrassing for me. He had his sacks to sack the grain. It was right out in the open. The wind would blow your hair off too. I changed the machine around twice in one day. The wind would blow right in your face and blow everything over

your head. You would have to get down and turn the machine around and when you got it turned around the wind would shift and you had to do it all over again. I saw the machine wasn't going to work and I knew what had to be done. The sieve had to have a new shoe about double the capacity which it had. The trouble was, where could we get the material to fix it. I knew what was required because I knew what the old one was made of. I needed some basquewood in order to fix it. That wood is tough; you can drive nails into it without splitting it. Well, where was I to get the basquewood. We had to stop work with all these men and teams under pay waiting.

"So, I hauled the machine back to the ranch and I scratched my head and wondered where I was going to get the material for the shoe. I happened to look across the road and there was an old prairie schooner bed. I had made wagons myself and I knew that all prairie schooners were made of basquewood. So I went over and looked at it. It had been thrown off alongside the road. It took me the best part of a day to get the rivets and nails out of it before I could use it. I went to work and I worked night and day. I worked in the night just as long as I could stand up. I had my poor little wife hold the light for me. I worked a solid week, night and day. I had it all done and took a long breath now and thought, by golly, that's fixed. I really was so tired and dozey I probably didn't know what I was doing. In the shoe there is a little trough where the chaff runs out of the sieves and from there they go up the elevator back to the binder. I had it all fixed—what I thought was a fine job—with an end sticking out both sides. One side was to be cut off and the other was to have been left. By golly, I cut off the wrong end! I just sat down and said I guess this is the end. What's the use! Well, I picked myself up and started in again. I had to take it all apart and do it all over again. It wasn't quite as much work as to make a new one but it was a sorry job. I had used all my material and I wondered what I was going to do for material to make a new part. I looked up and I saw the running board of the separator was basquewood. So, off came the running board and I got her fixed. I hitched up, hauled her back, gave the high sign that we were ready to proceed and we went to work and it worked all right. Everything worked except the elevator which carried the chaff back into the cylinder—it stopped up. It wasn't large enough. So, I had to make a new one. I had to go to Cheyenne to get the material. There was another three or four days lost. But I got her fixed and away we went. It worked all right then. Within four or five days after the machinery that connected from the horsepower to run the cylinder began to cut. It wasn't set true. I saw what was coming. It would wear out within the course of a week and I would be lost again. So I had to telegraph

back to New York where I bought the machine to have them send this material and we kept going. We got through with that job and moved to another, and we kept going.

"In the meantime, I hardly ever had my clothes off. The ranchmen would laugh at you if you asked for a bed. You had to carry your own bedroll with you and sleep in the hay. There wasn't a solitary day when night would come but what something had to be fixed and I would have to saddle a horse and go to the nearest blacksmith shop and pray to the fellow to do the work for me in the night. Now that was every day—something would happen.

"Moving one night from one place to another, coming down a steep hill, one of my horses collapsed. I thought he was going to die. This was about ten o'clock at night. So I got down and finally got the horse on his feet and started up and one of the straw carrier legs fell off the separator and one end hit the ground and one just leaned against this elevator that carried the chaff from the fanning mill up to the cylinder. The leg stuck and went right through the whole thing and tore the insides out of the elevator. After I got started I passed the house, where my wife was there alone, and I didn't dare go in the house because I thought I had bugs. So I went to the porch and sat out and talked to her through the window.

"Well, I got through the season. We had a fine crop. We had sixty acres of oats that year, sixty bushels to the acre and they weighed forty pounds to the bushel. We sold those oats for four and a half cents a pound. That's about a dollar and seventy-five cents a bushel for oats. That wasn't bad! That was the only pay crop raised there—oats. Oats and potatoes. The old overland stage route was still going and they bought all the oats in the country for their stock. All the farmers could raise the stage company would take from them. They furnished the sacks and all we had to do was sack the oats and they came and hauled them. The year before, when the grasshoppers had eaten the crops, oats sold for fourteen cents a pound. With my old machine, when I got it all fixed up, we could make good money. Make about a hundred dollars a day if things ran all right, but, of course, there was the overhead to come out of that. When the season was over I pulled the old thrashing machine home. We had a place to put it then. When I saw my brother I said to him: 'If you want to run that thrashing machine, why go to it, but I'll never touch it again. I'm through!' In the meantime he had closed his business in Cheyenne and came back to give his attention to the ranch. So, he ran the thrashing machine the next year. He didn't have any of the trouble I had but when he got through he was satisfied. He said: 'Well, take the dam thing out there and burn her up!'

"Well, when the thrashing was through we had the house all fixed up. It had folding doors in it. So we decided to have a house warming and it was a dandy. It was the talk of the whole country. We got the music from Cheyenne. Everybody in the country—all our friends—came. There were a number of my brother's friends who had been in the army and settled there. We had a whole bunch there and we had a dance that was the talk of the country. This house warming—that closed the season.

"My brother went East that winter—off to New York. Mrs. Meldrum and I stayed there alone all winter. After the summer's work was all done I saw that the wood pile was pretty low and that I would have to get some wood in. I hired a man and worked a month getting wood for the next season. We would get up at four o'clock in the morning and go out about six over a terrible road to get a load of wood, sixteen feet lengths. They had to roll the logs up on to the wagon, bind them with a chain and lock the wheels and come out. We spent just a month hauling wood. We would get up at four, start out about six and come back after night. I had a fine pile of wood, I'll tell you. With that pile all you had to do was to take an axe and go to it. That I could do. That was just fun for me.

"One day a fellow came to my place, asked me if I was John Meldrum, and when I told him I was, he said: 'You're a fiddler, aren't you?' I told him I played a little and asked him how he knew it. He told me that he had heard about me. He said: 'I'm going to have a housewarming nearly twenty miles from here tomorrow night and we haven't any music. We heard you could play the fiddle and they sent me for you.' I told him that I couldn't go, that I couldn't play for a dance. He said: 'Oh, yes, you can. Now we have heard all about you. You will be fine if you will go.' I told him I couldn't go, there was nobody there and I couldn't leave my wife here alone. He said: 'If you will go I will give you any sum you fix, within reason, if you will go.' And Mrs. Meldrum said: 'Go on, I'm not afraid to stay here.' I finally told him that if he would pay me doctor's fees I would go. The doctor's fees were a dollar a mile. 'All right', he said, 'I will pay you doctor's fees.' I had a good team and a good top buggy. There were only two top buggies north of Denver and we had one of them. I had a good team and plenty of buffalo robes. My brother had gotten them from the Indians. So I hitched up my team and lit out. Well, by golly, if you could have seen the crowd that was there and witnessed what took place that night you would never have forgotten it. They were all assembled in the new house, all spick and span. The old house adjoining it had a big fireplace where they had a log fire. Of course, I was a little chilly when I got there.



The fellows took care of my team. I went in and there was a fat woman, she was big as a hay stack, sitting in front of that fireplace. She had only one eye and had a baby in her lap. I had my fiddle box in my hand. She looked up and said: 'Good evening, are you one of the musikans?' I said: 'I guess so.' I was wondering where the other one was.

"Well, sir, I played all night for those buggers—until daylight. All alone. And maybe you think that isn't a job. Well, of course, they were all drunk before morning. Every fellow had a bottle and they were all right for a while. Their scheme of caching their bottles worked all right early in the evening but it played out later. There was snow all over the ground. A fellow would go to the door and go so many steps and stick his bottle down in the snow. The other fellow would do likewise. I don't know how many they had cached but before morning they had forgotten how many steps they had taken. They would kick the snow around looking for the bottles and in the morning it looked like this parade ground out here does after the elk have been wallowing in it all night. They were all drunk. I left in the morning. Well, sir, that is just one incident of the first winter.

### The Story of the Buggy

"Now, I'll tell you how that buggy got there. I told you about my brother coming to Little Rock on his way back from New York. When he was East he bought a top buggy and the harness back there in our old home county and shipped them to the end of the Union Pacific road, near the same place where the thrashing machine was shipped. He bought a team and drove across the country from there all by himself and it was full of Indians. It was a crazy thing to do but he did it. He drove all the way to Denver and there were Indians all over that country. The men working on the railroad were guarded by soldiers all the time. I guess he gave away pretty near everything he had in the buggy before he got through them though. They would see something in the buggy and tell him what they wanted and he had to give it—about everything but his gun and cartridges. So that is how the buggy came. It was the only one except one north of Denver. That closes 1868.

"In 1869 I had the crop all in on Inauguration Day, the 4th of March. I finished seeding the whole business. Of course, I had some help, two or three men. Well, the grasshoppers came down on us. Now if you never saw a grasshopper raid you don't know anything about it. I couldn't tell you but you just couldn't see the sun for grasshoppers in the air. They looked like a cloud. Well, they just dropped down and

within a few hours everything would just be stripped. They would even eat your clothes. Well, we were pretty well along with the harvest. I think we had it all down. When they ruin the crop it is while it is standing. They eat the little thread that holds the grain and let it drop on the ground. We had some twenty acres that we had left because it wasn't thoroughly ripe. So we got most of it down about the time the grasshoppers lit. Of course, they did quite a bit of damage but it wasn't anything to what it would have been.

"In '69 we started off and spent about a week hunting for cattle—to buy. We finally rounded up about a hundred head and drove them home. In the meantime both my brother and I became snowblind. It was in the spring. If you've never been snowblind I can't explain it but it is terribly painful. That is the way we started '69 but we got through the year pretty well. We had a pretty good crop and we were getting along pretty prosperously.

### **Ranch Sold in 1870**

"In 1870 my brother-in-law came out from the East—my wife's brother. He came out to visit us. He got out there and saw the country and the land and what he could buy it for and he nearly went crazy. He wanted to buy a farm before he had been there twenty-four hours. I told him that the land wasn't going to run away and for him to stay there long enough to see if he wanted to live there. His father was a rich farmer. There were four sons and every son had a horse and buggy. They didn't run around like they do nowadays with autos. They worked all week but Sunday they had their horse and buggy and went where they pleased. Well, I do not know whether his father gave them his patrimony or not but he had a pocket-full of money. I just had to herd him to keep him from buying every ranch he saw. I told him to wait and see how he liked it and if he was satisfied I would sell him my ranch. He immediately asked me what I would take for it. I told him I would take just what it cost me, that if he would pay me just what it cost he could have it. 'Well, how much?', he wanted to know. So I figured up and I think, as I remember it, it amounted to about four thousand dollars I had invested. He couldn't count the money out quick enough. In the meantime I had concluded that there was an easier way of living than ranching. The woman is a slave on a ranch and I didn't like to see my poor little wife working from sun to sun. Having a ranch that way some of the fellows and ranchmen would drop in and there wasn't a day but what somebody would come in and would stay for something to eat. It meant a lot of work for the woman. I thought I would get out, so I sold out.



"Then I bought a bunch of cattle and that was when I came to the Laramie Plains—in 1870. May, 1870, I drove my cattle on to the Laramie Plains.

### The Stolen Mower

"This is just a story but really worth while. While down on the ranch we would go out and could get hay anywhere. The grass was a couple feet high. There was practically no stock in the country to eat it. No one had any big herds of cattle. We had been cutting some hay on a hay claim about ten miles from the ranch and we left the mower out there—I think we broke a wheel. So I started out one morning to bring in the mower. I only had a horse and wagon. When I got to the place, by golly, the mower wasn't there. Somebody had stolen it. Mind you, I went away from the house, supposing I would be back in three or four hours and I didn't get back for four days. And there was my poor little wife fretting and wondering what had become of me and I had no way of sending her word. When I think of those things, Joffe, I think I ought to have been shot.

"But I found the wagon track and I just kept following it and I followed it all the way to Cheyenne. I got to Cheyenne and the first place I went was to a blacksmith shop because I knew the wheel would have to be fixed before it could be used. I went to the shop of Herman Haas—his son is now postmaster in Cheyenne. I had never met him before but I went in and told him who I was and that somebody had stolen a mower from me. He told me that there was a fellow in there who had gotten a mower fixed. I asked him what he had to fix on it and he said that the wheel was broken. I asked him what he did with it and he said he sold it to Sam Johns. I asked him where Mr. Johns lived and he told me. I went into Johns' place and like a darn fool said: 'Did you buy a mower from a man within the last few days?' 'Yes', he said, 'what of it?' I told him that it was mine and that I was after it. 'Well', he said, 'I'll just be damn if you'll get it.' He said he had one outfit come and take a pair of mules from him within the last few days and that he would be damned if I was going to get that mower.

"So I went to a lawyer, a friend of mine. It was the first time I had ever consulted a lawyer. I went to this lawyer, a Mr. Johnson. I told him my troubles. He told me that I didn't need a lawyer but that I should go down to the Justice of the Peace and have him tell me what to do. So I went down to see the Justice of the Peace and he told me what to do. He told me to get a writ of replevin and go after that mower. I didn't know what a writ of replevin was but I got it and went over

fifteen miles to where this man was working. I took the sheriff along with me. Mr. Johns was there but the mower wasn't there. They had a big stack of hay, about eight or ten feet high. The sheriff says to me: 'I'll bet you the mower is under that hay.' So he told Johns: 'I think that mower is under that hay. Will you loan me some of your men to dig it out?' He pledged his word that it was not there. By golly, it was getting along towards evening. The sheriff didn't find the mower but he said he would go back to Cheyenne and that he would come back, they would have the mower out here and he would snatch it. So I went back with the sheriff, paid him his fee, and went home. I had been gone about four days. Without any communication with my wife. Well, the darn sheriff never went out after the mower. I waited and waited, so finally let it go. I thought there was no use in sending good money after bad.

"Two years later when I had my herd of cattle on the Laramie Plains every fellow in town wanted a cow. So I used to drive some cows in. I rented a corral in town. I used to drive the cows in at night. One cow I had, had lost her calf and had a swollen udder. I said to one of the fellows if he would help me we would catch her and milk her or her bag would mortify. So we lassoed the cow and stretched her out and I milked her while she was lying on her back. I told the boys they better climb the fence and let her up. I told them there would be something doing when she got up and for them to hunt cover. The lariat was hurting her head. I was waiting to loosen that. So this one fellow, dressed in buckskins, he said he wasn't afraid of a damn cow. In the corral right at the end of it was a stable and a big pile of manure. When Mrs. Cow got up she took right after that fellow and he ran toward the stable. He stumbled in that pile of manure and she just pinned him right down. A horn was on each side of him. I grabbed a club that was in the corral and I ran and struck her right over the horns. I knocked her silly and she let him go pretty quick and I hunted the top of the fence. When I got back on the fence there was a fellow watching the performance. He laughed and said: 'That's quite a circus.' After a while he said: 'By golly, haven't I seen you somewhere before?' That was the first time I took a good look at him. 'Yes', I said, 'You saw me over on Crow Creek when I was after the mower you had buried in the hay.' It was this same fellow. I told him, now that the thing was all over, where had he put that mower. He said that the mower was on a wagon just driving away when we arrived. He said it was traveling toward Old Fort Laramie.

### **A Cow For A Horse**

"After we had talked for a while, he asked me how I would like to trade a cow for a horse. That was just what I wanted.

I wanted a good saddle horse. Well, he had a fine looking animal, a black mare. He asked me how I would like to give him a cow for that mare. I told him to pick his cow. He asked if they were gentle. I told him I would show him. There was an old brindle cow—she had an udder as big as a bushel basket and she did give a lot of milk. He picked her. He asked if she was gentle. I told him I would show him. I got down in the corral and went up to her and got hold of her udder and she stood and it worked fine as a fiddle. So we struck a bargain. Just as I was going with the mare he said: 'I wouldn't tie her with the bridle because she might break it. She sometimes gets a little frightened and she might break it.' I told him 'All right'. I took her over to the house and I had a rope there and put the rope around her neck. I was building a house at the time and had a temporary house. I tied her to the fence and went in to get my dinner and when I came out she was dragging about four panels of fence around with her. I knew what was the matter with her—she was a puller. So I never said a word. He came after the cow next day. His camp was right out on the plains, not more than a half mile from my house. I watched him through a glass and he was taking her away. They were trying to milk her. There were about four men holding her to milk her. When they got through she stuck up her tail and beat it for the herd. You couldn't see her for the dust! He stood there and watched her go. He had to come back to the herd to get his cow. When he came up to me he said: 'How do you like my mare?' I said: 'She's all right, how do you like your cow?' That was surely funny. That was one incident of that year.

### Opens a Meat Market

"While in Laramie in 1870 I opened a meat market. I ran the butcher shop during that summer. That was a darn fool job. I had to go and build a slaughter house, costing quite a bit of money, and I had to hire a butcher and rent a place for my meat market and I finally concluded that it didn't pay. There were three butchers shops in the town, competition was pretty keen and as it didn't pay I sold out and tended to my cattle.

"1870 was the finest winter I ever saw in the West. We drove the cattle right off the range up to the slaughter house—**never** had to feed them a bit. The next winter, 1871, was the worst one I ever saw. It started in in November and it never stopped until after May. More than half, which I would say was a conservative estimate, of the cattle in the country froze to death. You could see old Texas steers coming down the street eating droppings of horses—starving to death. Well,

with this severe winter, I got cold feet. I decided to sell what cattle I had before another winter came along and froze them all out.

### **Employed by Union Pacific Railroad**

"That winter after most of my cattle froze and starved to death I got a job with the railroad at their shops. I went to the master mechanic, who was a gruff old Scotchman and asked him for a job. He didn't give me any encouragement. I then went to the foreman, whom I knew. He was a Scotchman too and he asked me if I told this fellow I was a Scotchman. I told him I didn't. He said that I should have told him that, that he would go and tell him and he thought I would get the job. So he went and saw the master mechanic and in a day or two the foreman of the car shop came up and asked me if I wanted to go to work. I told him I did. He said he had a job for me. I had quite a kit of tools so I took my tools down and went to work and I worked the rest of the winter. I earned good money.

"It was while I was working for the Union Pacific that Mr. Hutton of the firm of Hutton & Metcalf came up to my house and said: 'Will you come down and run our business for us?' Well, that kind of took me off my feet. I knew the fellow who had managed the place. He was a fine fellow but had the failing of a lot of others and he would go out and get drunk. Hutton was running a herd of cattle on the plains when I had my herd there and he knew me pretty well. He told me that if I would come down and take charge of his place he would give me anything I asked. I knew that they had been paying Williams, their old foreman, a good salary. I told him that I would take what they were paying Williams. So I went to work the next day for Hutton & Metcalf. I was their manager in Laramie. Metcalf was an eastern man who had bought into this cattle ranch so that he would have a place for his two sons. One of the sons came out and worked for a while but he wasn't worth the powder to shoot him and he didn't last long. His second son came out and while he was some better he didn't stick it out either. I couldn't get along with these two fellows, they were such drinkers. Mr. Metcalf came out from the East and told me he wanted to sell me his interest in that business. They had contracts of all kinds with the Government and it was a fine firm. It was a pretty responsible thing to handle. But he saw he couldn't make anything out of his boys and he wanted to sell out. He said he would sell me his interest in the business, I think it was for \$50,000 and that I could pay him whatever I could and he would take a mortgage on the stock for the balance. I told him I didn't have any money. He told me that I must have some. I told him I could pay five thousand dollars. He said



that was all right, that I could pay five thousand dollars and he would take a mortgage on the business for the balance. Well, I didn't have the nerve to go in debt for fifty thousand dollars. I turned it down.

"There was a fellow working in the freight office of the railroad company getting sixty dollars a month. He was an Englishman. He had some English friends in Laramie. By golly, he went to these people and got them to back him and he bought out that herd. He didn't have five hundred dollars to his name. He blossomed out as one of the big cattle men of the Laramie plains. He had these men with all their money backing him and he made a go out of it. But finally when he died he didn't have any of it left. Prosperity set him wild and he didn't have anything left in the end. The cattle business finally went down and he went down with it.

"It was in 1871, while I was running the meat market in Laramie, that I first got into politics. One day some of the fellows came to my store and asked me if I knew what they did last night at the convention. I said that I didn't and they told me that they had nominated me for the legislature. I told them that I was busy, that I didn't have any time, and that I didn't know any more about politics than I did about heaven, although I thanked them for the compliment. However, I was forced to stick out the campaign and without even making any attempt to campaign I came within three votes of being elected. Had I contested the election I could have boosted the other fellow out but I didn't care about it.

#### Chapter V

### **Appointed Clerk of the Circuit Court**

"It was shortly after that that I sold my cattle and the butcher shop and went to work for Hutton & Metcalf, who had the largest herd of cattle on the Laramie plains. They had Government contracts, meat contracts, tie contracts, meat markets and other things. While working for this firm I became well acquainted. One day one of the leading politicians came in and said to me: 'Do you know you have been appointed Clerk of the Circuit Court?' I told him I had not and asked how that had happened.

"The Clerk of the Circuit Court at that time was what we called a 'mugwump'. That was a fellow who was neither a Democrat nor a Republican, who straddled the fence and who would do anything to hold his job. The Judge of the Court had the authority to have anyone for his clerk whom he pleased, so I was appointed Clerk of the Court.



### **Remained in Politics**

"I then remained in politics. At the next election I was elected County Clerk, then I was reelected County Clerk and the next time they elected me County Commissioner and I was made chairman of the board.

"While I was County Commissioner I was elected to the Upper House of the Legislature. This was the year Kendrick came to Wyoming, 1879. This Upper House in the territorial days would correspond with the Senate under the States. In the territorial days the two branches were known as the Council and the House.

### **Nominated for Congress**

"By 1882 I had had things pretty much my own way in politics in my own county and the fellows thought I could be elected to anything. So, in that year they nominated me for Congress. My opponent on the Democratic ticket was Morton E. Post, a banker and a millionaire. I knew that I didn't stand much chance against Post, because of his wealth, for in those days one could buy himself into almost any position. Votes could be bought openly. There were only six counties in Wyoming at that time. I carried three and Post carried three, each of us carrying our own counties. As Post lived in Cheyenne, the most populated county, he beat me by a thousand votes. That ended that show!

### **Appointed Surveyor General of the Territory**

"After being beaten for Congress, I still retained my position as Clerk of the District Court. My running for Congress didn't interfere with that job. There was a public office holder, a Republican, who did me awfully dirty in that campaign. I went to this man and told him that I was going to get his scalp for what he did to me in that election. He held one of the best offices in the territory, being appointed by a Republican President. My opponent, being a wealthy man, had gotten this fellow to do what he wanted him to do for him. My friends knew what he had done and they knew that I had told him I was going to get his scalp. He was a close friend of my best friend, the father of the present Bob Carey. This man who did me dirt was as near to Bob Carey's father as he could be and not be his brother and it was a kind of a bad situation. I then started out after this old fellow's scalp. I went to Washington and stayed there all winter in order to get even with this old fellow. Up to that time no member of the territory had been appointed to a popular office. All had been appointed by the President. Men would be selected from outside the territory and sent in to

take the plums. My brother was Secretary of State for Colorado and he had some good friends in the Senate. Teller, who was later Secretary of the Interior, was in the Senate, and old Jim Belford was in the House. Jim was quite a scrapper. I went to Belford to keep this old fellow from being reappointed. Belford asked me why I didn't go after the place myself. I told him I could never get it. That position was Surveyor General of the Territory, the best appointive position in the Territory. He told me to go after it and he would help me. I talked to my brother about it and he said he would get the whole Colorado bunch behind me if I had the sand to go after it.

"After this talk with my brother I told him that I was ready to do my part. I was young and full of pep and I went after it—and I landed it. I really didn't care much about the job because I had a better position as Clerk of the District Court, which was a better paying job, but I set out to accomplish a purpose and I succeeded in getting the old fellow out of his place.

"Of course, it was a big thing for me to be able to walk into that office—in those days there was no civil service—and say to this fellow I had promised to get, 'I don't want you, come and sign the payroll and get your money.' That's all you had to do in those days if you didn't like a fellow. I had glory enough in making that old fellow walk out. I merely told him: 'I'm boss here now, you get out of here.'

"That was fifty years ago—I was just forty years old at the time.

"After Cleveland was elected President, succeeding Arthur, I told the boys I had always been a Republican and didn't want to hold a position under a Democratic President, so I sent in my resignation to Cleveland. This was in 1886. I resigned a month after Cleveland was elected.

## Two Years in California

"By that time I was pretty well worn out and I made up my mind then to go to Europe. Mrs. Melfrum and I were always talking about going to Europe and now that the time seemed opportune we began making plans for the trip. I went down to visit my brother in Denver and was taken sick there. The family physician told me it was no time to go to Eurpoe. It was then winter. He told me what I ought to do was to go out to California where there is a milder climate and stay there for the winter. I was like a dog with a sore head, I didn't want to go, I was mad that I had to go but thought it was probably the wise thing to do, so I went to California and I stayed there for two years recuperating.

"While in California I got pulled into several speculations, then the bottom dropped out of everything and as I was pretty well recuperated I started back to Wyoming. When I got back to Wyoming the Harrison campaign for President was on. My friend, Joseph M. Carey, was then a member of Congress and had been renominated for reelection. So I campaigned with Carey that year and he was successful and Harrison was elected President. After that Carey asked me how I would like to have my old place back again, that he thought it would be the thing for me to do to oust the other fellow out as Surveyor General. He told me if I would say the word he would have me appointed but I told him that I didn't want it. He tried to insist that I take it but I told him I preferred not to and when he saw that my mind was made up he told me that if I wanted anything he could help me with all I had to do was say the word. I told Carey that I was going back to Los Angeles and Pasadena and gather up the loose threads and get things fixed up before I returned to Wyoming to live.

### **Appointed Secretary of the Territory**

"I then went back to Pasadena and while back there I got a telegram from Carey which read: 'There will be a vacancy in the office of Secretary of the Territory soon. Will you take the place?' I consulted with Mrs. Meldrum. She had gotten pretty tired of politics but after a while I wired Carey that I would accept. When I got back to Wyoming I don't think there was one of the leading Republicans who didn't say 'Amen'. The fellow who had been Secretary was a fine, high-toned Secretary, but he would get drunk and let things go to pot. His friends, after seeing his case was hopeless, finally went to him and told him the decent way for him to get out would be to resign rather than to have charges preferred against him. So he resigned. That is how I came to be Secretary of the Territory.

### **Wyoming Becomes a State**

"Things ran along until the constitutional convention was called to be held in Cheyenne, Wyoming in the fall of 1889 when Wyoming was to ask for admittance as a State. I was Secretary then and, of course, I had to make provisions for the holding of the constitutional convention, although we didn't have any appropriations for holding it as yet. I went out and bought stuff for the convention and told those from whom the purchases were made that they would have to take their chances on money being appropriated later. I got everything for this convention on credit. The convention met and the constitution was drawn up and sent to Washington. The copy of the constitution which

was sent to President Harrison was written by my own clerks under my close observation. I saw to it that every t was crossed and every i dotted. It was written entirely by hand as we had no typewriter available in those days.

"When it came time for the Congress to decide on Wyoming becoming a State, Warren, who was then Territorial Governor, was back in his home in Boston. So when Congress passed the law admitting Wyoming as a State I received the telegram from Carey announcing the admission of Wyoming and I issued the first proclamation for the State of Wyoming. I have a copy of this in my scrap book today. The original telegram is in my scrap book also. (Showed both to me.) I wouldn't take a million dollars for that telegram today but when I pass on it will go into the historical museum of the State."

Judge Meldrum showed me the original telegram, which I copied from his scrap book. It reads as follows:

"JULY 10, 1890  
RECEIVED AT CHEYENNE 5.25 PM  
DATED WASHINGTON DC 10  
TO: HONORABLE JOHN W. MELDRUM, GOVERNOR  
PROCLAIM TO THE PEOPLE THAT WYOMING IS A MEMBER  
OF THE INDESTRUCTIBLE UNION OF AMERICAN STATES  
TO THEM EXTEND HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS. THE PRESIDENT  
SIGNED THE BILL AT 5.30 WASHINGTON TIME  
J. M. CAREY"

#### **The Acting Governor Makes a Statehood Proclamation**

The proclamation issued by Judge Meldrum was dated July 11, 1890. It was the first state paper issued for the State of Wyoming. It follows:

#### P R O C L A M A T I O N

"WHEREAS, The people of the territory of Wyoming did, on the thirteenth day of September, A. D. 1889, by a convention of delegates called and assembled for that purpose, form for themselves a constitution, which constitution was ratified and adopted by the people of said territory at the election held therefor on the first Tuesday in November, A. D. 1889; and

"WHEREAS, By an act of the Congress of the United States approved by the president on the tenth day of July, A. D. 1890, the said territory was duly admitted into the union as a state of Wyoming, and the said constitution was duly accepted, ratified and confirmed by congress;

"NOW, therefore, I, John W. Meldrum, acting governor of Wyoming, do hereby proclaim that the state of Wyoming has been duly admitted and declared to be a state of the United States of America on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever; and I do hereby call especial

attention to the several provisions of Article XXI of the constitution of the said state regulating and providing for the change and transition from the territorial system to a permanent state government.

"In performing this duty I extend to the people of the state my most earnest congratulations, and express to them my entire confidence in their readiness and ability to cheerfully meet and sustain the obligations and responsibilities incident to their entrance into the union of states.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the state of Wyoming to be hereto affixed at Cheyenne, the capital, this eleventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifteenth.

(SEAL)

JOHN W. MELDRUM  
Acting Governor"

### Almost a Bank President

Another interesting incident in the Judge's life was just prior to his trip to California in 1886, when he almost became the president of a bank. The Judge laughed about this incident as he related it as follows:

"In 1886, after resigning as Surveyor General, I came near becoming President of a bank in Laramie. There were five of us and we each had agreed to put in \$20,000 each as it was necessary to have \$100,000 to start a bank. In fact, I rather think there were six but I can remember the names of four besides myself. We had it all doped out how we were going to run it. I bought the ground to put the building on. I went to Denver and spent some time there with an architect getting the plans for the bank. We were all ready to start the building when a man from Pennsylvania came out—an old banker—and he wanted to get in on the deal. Of course, he didn't want to come in unless he got an office. However, all the offices were already spoken for. The president, vice-president and cashier were all the positions there were and these were already arranged for.

"He said that if we didn't let him in on this he would start a bank here of his own. He was connected with the moneyed men in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—I believe it was Pittsburgh. Well, I knew that that was just sand, that he was merely talking. I told him I thought he was talking through his hat.

"The man we had picked for cashier was already a cashier in a bank—the Wyoming National Bank. He was going to quit that position and become cashier of the new bank. So this fellow got after this cashier and tried to get him to pull out from our bank and let him go in. This cashier's name was Dawson—Cashier of the Wyoming National Bank. After much



persuasion by this man from the East, whose name was Crumlin, Dawson asked that we let Crumlin in. He said he had a position already, just as good as he would have in the new bank, and was in favor of letting Crumlin come in the new bank in his place. I told Dawson unless he would go in I would not go in myself. Dawson was a popular fellow, he knew everyone in town, and we needed him in our bank. This fellow Crumlin just kept around, trying to get in. He had some influential friends in Laramie and they asked why we didn't let him in. I told them that I wouldn't want him in because I wanted Dawson and unless Dawson comes in I will not come in.

"After some time I finally said to Crumlin: 'If you will take the property off my hands—I had paid the cash for the site out of my own pockets—and buy my house so that I will be footloose here I will step out and let you in.' With that he said: 'How much do you want?' I told him about \$16,000. By golly, he took me up right off the bat. I said to him that I was a good enough sport and that I wouldn't go back on my word. That was in 1886 and that was as close as I came to being the president of a bank. I was glad later on that it happened this way because it is no pleasure to be a president of a bank. Especially in those days. When I was director of the bank later in Cheyenne every time I heard the telephone ring I was afraid someone was calling up to tell me that the bank had gone under. I was almost afraid to answer the telephone.

"After I sold out that left me footloose. It was then I told Mrs. Meldrum we could now go to Europe as we had planned. We went to Denver and I took sick and we wound up by going to California."

(To be Continued)

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## REMINISCENCES OF AN EARLY-DAY RAILROAD CIVIL ENGINEER IN NORTHWESTERN WYOMING

By John B. Ferguson\*

After graduation from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1899, I was with the Burlington Railroad, and by 1900 had seen considerable of that railroad's territory in Western Nebraska, Montana, the Black Hills of South Dakota and the North Platte region of Wyoming.

Unexpected orders often moved us engineers overnight to new localities, and about the first of the year 1900, while I was temporarily at headquarters in Lincoln, Nebraska, I received sudden instructions to proceed at once to Frannie, Wyoming, to take charge there of the first ten miles in Wyoming of the Toluca-Cody line, to be constructed "from the grass roots up," as Chief Engineer Weeks put it.

I had finished up the Toluca Division a few days before, and had stopped off at Deadwood in the Black Hills on my way back to Lincoln to make a survey of the Burlington yards there.

Obedying orders without delay, I took a night train out of Lincoln and was met the following morning at Alliance by my assistant, Dick Hughes. Hughes had been with me the previous few months at Toluca, had gone home to Denver for a few days, and was now eager to see new territory.

A long trip to Billings, Montana, the end of the line, a mighty cold night at the Cottage Inn there, then the Northern

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.— John Berton Ferguson, proprietor, since 1909, of J. B. Ferguson and Company, Engineers, Constructors, 312 West Washington Street, Hagerstown, Maryland, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, on January 8, 1877, and subsequent to his early experiences in Wyoming, has carved out a useful and successful career as a leader in professional and civic affairs.

In "Who's Who in Engineering" appears the following information:

From 1899 until 1909, when he became the proprietor of his own business, Mr. Ferguson held positions, respectively, with the C. B. & Q. Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Ohio Electric Railway. From 1914-1927 he was City Engineer of Hagerstown, Md.; 1916-1925, Chief Engineer of Hagerstown Sewage Commission; 1916-1930, County Engineer, Washington County; 1918-1920, Supervising Engineer, Camp Eustis, Virginia, Balloon Observers School Camp Morrison Yorktown Road Projects; 1938-1940, Director of the Western Maryland Ry. Co.

He has served as president of the Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce, 1930-1938; president of the Washington County Council of Boy Scouts, 1927-1937; vice-president and secretary, Board of Trustees, Washington County Free Library; director, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts; is a member of the Rotary Club, Antietam Archers and American Society of Civil Engineers.

Mr. Ferguson was married to Beulah L. Darby at Williamsport, Maryland, on September 21, 1904, and they have a son, John B. Ferguson, Jr.

Pacific the next morning to Gebo, Montana, where we unloaded with our big tent and other engineering paraphernalia. As per instructions, we hunted up a Mr. Thurston just outside of town whom I believe was a brother-in-law of Mr. Waterman, the general storekeeper of the Burlington. Mr. Thurston kindly put us up for the night and arranged to drive us to Frannie next day in his well equipped wagon.

I have little recollection of that drive except the bitter cold. As we wound up over the rim rock of Clark's Fork Valley into that of Sage Creek, we could find little pleasure in facing, from the driver's seat, the strong cold wind, and each of us in turn was only too glad to surrender the reins to the next man and take his turn to walk. I do recall with pleasure, however, the beautiful view that confronted us as we topped the rise and found the Sage Creek Valley unfolding before us with the majestic snow-capped Big Horns in the far distance.

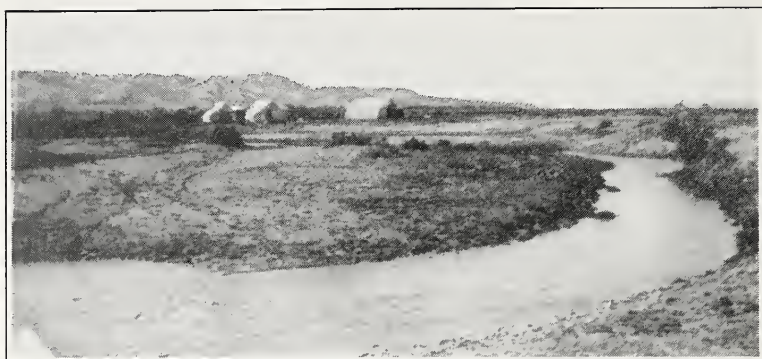
Long after dark that evening, we reached the camp of Division Engineer Bergen near Bowler, where we were warmly greeted by Bergen and his assistants. We found Bergen comfortably established with his new wife and we enjoyed a splendid meal with the hospitable folks at Piney Camp, where we spent the night.

The following morning we were up early and soon after breakfast were harnessed up for the remaining miles to Frannie. We found the thermometer 40 below, but happily had the strong north wind on our backs for we were now proceeding almost due south. The bitterness of the wind and its penetrating qualities were silently testified to by the many north bound freighters whom we passed. All, without exception, were allowing their teams to take their own course without a driver, while they trudged behind in the shelter of their wagons.

I have a clear recollection of the vast sea of unusually tall sagebrush that met our eyes as we crossed the Wyoming line and wound down the ever widening Sage Creek Valley. Some of that sage was fully ten feet tall.

We ended our trip at Jack Morris' ranch house about noon, where we again received a warm welcome typical of that country and time. Jack told us to go ahead and pitch camp where we chose, and gladly arranged to provide us with meals during our stay. We met his young and attractive daughter and learned that the post-office in his house had been named Farnnie in her honor.

We pitched our tent that afternoon just across Sage Creek which flowed a short distance back of the Morris house. The chief engineer had provided us with a very heavy and large tent with a knock-down wooden floor and double deck bunks.



**Looking North From Morris Ranch Along Sage Creek.  
Sub-Contractor's Tents in Back, June, 1900.**

The ground was frozen and therefore it was impossible for us to seal up our tent at the bottom. For heat, we had a cast iron way car stove but did not have time to forage for fuel. As a consequence, after burning a few of our precious stakes, we went to bed with no fire and no straw for our bunks. In spite of our wealth of blankets, we spent a bitter night. I can never forget Dick's face in the morning as he crawled out of his patent sleeping bag, nor his emphatic assertion "I was never so damned cold in my life."

However, a hot meal at the Morris's restored our good nature, and it was with a renewed interest in life that we set out to locate the center line of the proposed railroad. We soon found it a mile or so west of the Creek skirting the hillside and bearing away to the southwest. Profile in hand, we followed the line for the full ten miles until we reached the beginning of the next ten mile division near Polecat Creek. The next few days were busy ones delivering stakes along the line and proceeding with the setting of the grade and cross section stakes for the contractor, Charlie Sharpe, who had not yet appeared.

We had completed about five miles of this work when we were delighted, one morning, to see Sharpe's outfit trundling toward us from the direction of Frannie. With it came some old friends who had been on other work with us near Alliance, Nebraska, Bill Chalk was in charge as general foreman and with him was a recruit for my own camp, a J. Buell Chessington. They speedily selected a site and soon had a camp well established about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Frannie. Sharpe was handling, directly, several miles of the grading, and so, almost immediately established a second camp about five miles from Frannie. As this second camp would be about the center of our work,



we decided to move from Frannie, and located near Sharpe's outfit, where we could get good board at a reasonable price and have some company at the same time.

In locating our tent, we noted that all of Sharpe's were in the open directly exposed to winds from all directions. For ourselves, therefore, we chose a little sheltered spot about 100 yards from the main camp. We looked forward to some more bitter winter winds and low temperatures.

With three of us, moving was a simple operation, and we soon found ourselves enjoying the bountiful table in Sharpe's big horse tent used as a dining hall for all of his men.

We devoted part of our evenings to fixing ourselves up with a few conveniences in the way of tables, shelves, etc., but with the intense cold of those winter months, and the fact that we got up pretty early, our evenings were never long. Our mail reached us from the Northern Pacific at Bridger by stage to Frannie, thence to us either by courtesy of Sharpe's men or through our own visits to the postoffice.

A couple of weeks after we moved, Chessington looked out the tent door one Sunday morning, and burst out with the statement that there was ISPW, meaning Chief Engineer Weeks, who, a moment later, burst through the tent door in his usual hearty wholesome way. He had just driven out from Frannie, and had with him the general superintendent, T. E. Calvert, and also another recruit for our camp, W. G. Dungan, who had returned to Lincoln a few days before from a long experience in Wyoming and Idaho on location work. Dungan proved a most welcome addition to our group, for his Irish wit and good humor were never failing.

They complimented us on our tent location, then took me along with them over the rest of the division, this being the Chief's first inspection of it. We discussed ditches, drainage and overhaul, and at the end of the ten miles they kept on for Dick Morrow's division near Cody several miles beyond Polecat Creek, while I turned back for our camp to get better acquainted with our latest recruit.

When Mr. Calvert came back a few days later. I heard him tell Mr. Weeks a bit about a trip he made through the Big Horn Canyon by boat, possibly the first ever to have accomplished this. Mr. Weeks' comment was that it was an awfully dangerous thing to do.

There was little we could do in the way of entertainment. We had some newspapers, a few magazines, and we did manage to make and use a checker board. A favorite pastime into which we drifted unconsciously, was argument. I marvel yet,



after all these years, at the very trivial things we nearly came to blows about. I remember one particularly heated affair that lasted for days and days over the difference between muslin and cotton cloth. We wrote away to our respective homes for information in widely different sections of the USA and found this strangely confirmatory of our separate opinions, but yet unconvincing to others. We were too young then to realize what different meanings the same word may have in various parts of the country. The writer had brought with him into camp an old flute which he had learned to play after a fashion, together with a lot of music. At times this appealed to the others.

The winter was a bitterly cold one as we had anticipated. Our work took us five miles in each direction. We were not allowed any form of transportation and it was strictly against the rules of the company to bum any off the contractor. The continuous walking kept us continuously hungry and always able to do tull justice to the excellent meals that Charley Sharpe furnished at reasonable cost to us.

Sharpe's camp consisted of a commissary and office tent, a large horse tent for a dining hall, another large tent for the stabling of the horses when they were not ranging in the open at night and many smaller tents for the housing of the foreman and straw bosses. The men were largely housed in large tents and provided with individual cots.

There was no mechanical equipment on that job. In fact, I do not recall seeing any on the Burlington's outlying work. This particular job was carried on wholly with wheeled scrapers, slips, Fresno scrapers, and sometimes wagons. The cuts



Sharp's Ten-Horse Plow Team in Action.

were plowed first, then slipped or scraped away, or the earth was elevated by a grading machine, into eleven wagons drawn by horses and mules. I have a clear recollection of the fine stock that Sharpe always had. I have a picture or two, taken by myself, of ten-horse plow teams working on the cemented gravel sometimes encountered. The "freehaul" of the grading contracts in those days was 500 feet. For all additional distances excavation was hauled, the contractor was paid "overhaul".

The camp had no resident doctor. Anyone who was sick had to get well the best way he could or go some place else. I was interested in the method of keeping beef when the weather got warm. They simply erected a pole or flag staff at the kitchen door, with a pulley at the top. The quarter of beef was fastened to a stout rope woven through the pulley, and was hoisted up to the top of the pole above the level of the flies. When a supply was wanted for a meal, the beef was lowered to the ground, the necessary amount sliced off, the quarter hoisted to the top again. The milk used was, of course, of a canned variety diluted with plenty of water. We knew it in those "free silver days," as "16 to 1." God knows what the butter was made of, or from. It was recognized as axle grease among the diners, who knowingly hollered for the gravel car when they wanted sugar. Anyone who tried the doughnuts in those camps would understand why they were universally dubbed "gaskets."

The water was hauled from Sage Creek in tank wagons, and no one, in those days, ever heard of chlorinators. Yet, I have no recollection of outbreaks of diarrhea or dysentery among the men. Sickness was really quite rare. It simply didn't pay. There was no fun in lying round in an old tent all by yourself.

The matter of fuel was at times of considerable concern to us. This was a treeless section of Wyoming, the Big Horns being many miles to the east of us. We had a cast iron stove only, and we feared the lack of fuel in the days to come. Hiring a wagon from the contractor, therefore, we set out toward the Big Horns, resolved to bring back a capacity load of wood if we had to camp out for it. We were given a lot of directions as to where we might find wood before we got to the mountains, but all conceded that we were in for some adventure. We set out with frank misgivings, with a moderate amount of grub, Dungan with his old service revolver strapped under his coat. Past Frannie we went, and still headed east, in the general directions of the mountains. Two miles east of there we turned to the south down a gulley, following, as we supposed, certain directions we had received from someone. A mile or two, then a sharp turn brought us up against a hillside covered with

low cedar trees. From the top of the hill, the camp was in plain sight seven miles away. Our adventure was over. The rest was hard work, but we succeeded in loading the wagon and had the laugh on our croaking friends when we showed up in camp early in the afternoon.

This same cedar, however, came near being our undoing. Setting out one morning, to be gone for the whole day, Dungan happened to step round to the side of the tent and discovered a rapidly widening four inch hole burning in the fly that covered the tent. Cedar is a very sparking wood and a good sized spark from it nearly lost us our home. We were exceptionally careful after that.

When that load of cedar was about gone, we decided we'd mine coal from one of the many thin veins of coal visible in that region. Again hiring a wagon from the contractor, we trekked a few miles to the northwest and spent an energetic day digging out a load from an eight-inch vein exposed on a hillside. It proved to be a soft lignite which burned freely with a soft ash, but which disintegrated quickly when left exposed to the weather.

That winter of 1900-1901 was one of widespread small-pox epidemics (so called). The Chief had required that I be vaccinated before going into the Big Horn Country.

Late in the winter, we were much disturbed to learn that the disease had broken out in Sharpe's camp and that at least sixteen men were reported down with it. As we were getting our meals in the same tent as the rest of the men, we were naturally exposed. Here we had a splendid subject for argument, ready-made. How best to avoid the disease? There was no doctor in the camp, and the nearest one was probably 60 miles away. Those were the early dates of Physical Culture and Bernarr Macfadden.

As only one of us smoked, strange to say, he was naturally urged to stop his use of the weed. As to diet, there was not much we could do except eat what we were given. We could fast, of course, but, being quite young, that idea did not seem to appeal to us, as a reasonable palliative. But baths and perhaps exercise! There was the chance. We argued that small-pox was a skin disease. Keep the skin healthy by proper baths and exercise and you should be free from danger. But bathing and drinking water had to be hauled five miles in a wagon from Sage Creek. It was therefore quite precious. It was still winter and too cold for outdoor bathing. Saucer baths then, cold saucer baths sounded about right. Cold baths with a judicious bit of fasting, but not too much. The smoker figured, under pressure, that maybe he might cut down some on the use of the weed.

One most confident figure among us was Chessington. He was not afraid in any way. No indeed, not he. They had tried and tried to vaccinate him, but in vain. It simply couldn't be done. Ergo, he was a natural immune. He would not be afraid to go into a small-pox hospital and nurse smallpox patients.

The discussions and arguments were endless. Then, one Sunday evening, Chess came down with chills and fever. He really must have felt pretty rocky, but having been imbued without braggadocio attitude, about rugged health, etc., he hated to complain. But that night he whimpered a lot in his sleep. Next morning, he was too sick to go out. Hardheartedly, we left him to his ills alone, while we worked and ate the meals we needed. Being partly sold on the fasting idea, he ate little for the next day or so, thinking he had only a bit of cold and fever. He stuck closely to his bunk and the tent. By the middle of the week, he was able to stagger over to the dining tent for a bit of food. Then we discovered that he was breaking out with white pustules. The natural immune had the loathsome disease, there was no doubt about it. Four of us in one tent, and one with smallpox. There was nothing to do. It was too late. We had to take it. But, to his cheerful and sardonic statement that as long as he had it we'd have to have it too, we cheerfully told him that we'd fool him yet. And we did. Not one of the rest of us got it.

When the camp had its greatest number of ill men, the situation came near being tragic for a while. One of Sharpe's men ran away from the camp to a small Montana town where he proceeded to get "lickered" up to the point of loquaciousness, when he told that Sharpe's camp had broken out with smallpox, and how he had gotten away from it. Now Sharpe was getting his supplies from that town, and there seemed a good chance to the townspeople, therefore, of the dread disease being passed along to them. They took prompt action, chasing the drunk out of town and sending a posse of well armed citizens to the State line above Frannie. We had visions of being starved out for awhile, but reason finally prevailed, and the embargo was lifted.

About that time I received a letter from the chief engineer, discreetly referring to a rash or measles that he understood had broken out in our camp, and suggesting that I fumigate our letters outgoing to him, with sulphur. When he visited the camp later, he was very careful to keep me on the lee side while inspecting the work.

I made my first acquaintance with formaldehyde at this time. Mr. Sharpe sent in a generator which we used to fumigate our tent. I can testify to the penetrating qualities of the gas, for we could detect it long after in the bottoms of our trunks.



Some practical joker in Sharpe's camp got hold of the machine and setting it up just outside one of the men's small tents one night, he passed the hose under the tent side wall to discharge the contents into the tent. The men were busy with a game of poker, and showed a rare lack of sensitivity. The only thing they noticed was a peculiar odor, which did not even slow up the game.

I recollect that we all craved candy and sweets, the desserts probably not being satisfying. We used to buy bitter chocolate by the pound and shaving it up on a scratch pad with a mixture of sugar eat it with gusto. I recall that we used up 20 lbs. of chocolate in this way. My sister was a famous fudge maker in those days. Understanding our need, she once sent me 7 lbs. of her best brand. Receiving it one afternoon, it was all gone to the last crumb by the following noon.

With the coming of spring, I was able, at last, to solve a problem that had been brought to camp with me, had bothered me all winter, literally hanging over my head. The tools available helpful in solving such a problem in addition to our usual equipment were a small pair of scissors, and two very small hand glasses. With the help of these, I set to work, and after two and a half hours of backbreaking toil I solved this problem to the vociferous acclaim of my associates. I do not think I have ever since done anything that gave me so much personal satisfaction of the kind. Fortunately, it was a problem the solution of which can be readily understood by any man who has been out in the wilds away from the accessories of civilization. Dear readers, I cut and trimmed my own hair!

The warmer weather also released us from the long indoor evenings, and our arguments. We tried pistol shooting, and played a lot of "Duck on the Rock." We made long trips to the north and to the south visiting our neighboring division engineers, twenty miles to each round trip.

One day I recall while Jack Morris and I were standing on the banks of Sage Creek, his talk turned to Buffalo Bill. He spoke admiringly of that colorful character and of his ability as a marksman. Jack then told me of being in conversation with Buffalo Bill one time in that vicinity when suddenly he threw his rifle to his shoulder and fired instantaneously, apparently without taking aim, at a fence-post about 150 yards from where we were then standing. Jack remarked that if I would look at the post sometime, I would find the bullet-hole. I did inspect that post later, and found a bullet-mark on one side. While Bill had hit all right, it was close to being a miss. I have since felt that if I were a relic hunter, I should have cut a piece out of that post and preserved it as bearing the trade-mark of William F. Cody. Perhaps the post is still there for someone else to collect that trophy.

Late in the spring, Sharpe had all the heavy work finished. There remained only the first three miles to be done by a sub-



contractor. So, we again found it necessary to move, this time to Frannie, with the help of some accommodating passing freighters. We pitched tent near Jack Morris' again. We were getting restless with our activities cut down. None of us had any idea where we were to go when the work was over, and we even began to plan a trip through the Yellowstone Park if there was to be a layoff. The mountains of the Park were in plain sight from our camp. Our only diversion was sitting outside the tent evenings, watching for the cloud of dust to the north which would indicate the coming of the stage and perhaps some letters for us.

Then suddenly, Dungan was called away to take charge of some work in the Black Hills, Chessington was sent down the line and Hughes was sent to a party with Mr. Ensign to do some locating work. Finally, I received word to pack up and head for Edgemont, South Dakota, where I was to be stationed for an indefinite time on maintenance work.

Jack Morris took me to Bridger, Montana, where I was to board the train on the Northern Pacific for Billings. It was a Saturday morning, very early, when we left, and the beauty of that day is with me yet. The western meadow larks were at their best. It was such a different drive from the one coming in, in January.

This Big Horn country made a deep impression on me that I was never fully aware of until after I had left. The tremendous sweep of the country, the majesty of the imposing Big Horn Range, snow-topped, even when I left there in June; the Pryor mountains to the north and the miscellaneous peaks to the west, in or near the Yellowstone Park, all combined to make a series of vistas enticing in their beauty. Reading of "The Virginian" by Owen Wister, a few years or so later, tended to crystallize in my thoughts a wish, till then lying latent, to revisit and thoroughly examine that great valley.

I recall Jack Morris telling me on that drive that when he first came to this country, I forget how many years before, he could see, in almost any direction, great bands of antelope, their rumps flashing in the sunlight. We saw none at all in 1901. Jack also told me that there were a lot more rattlesnakes then than now. They were a recognized menace to the stock, and a stockman riding over the country, no matter how urgent his mission, would never fail to stop at any time to kill rattlesnakes.

I shall not forget, either, that we drove over into the Clark's Fork valley just in time to see the one and only train departing for Billings, leaving me stranded until the following Monday.

All this was forty years ago. I have never been back in the Big Horn country, yet it is the place of all others that I should like to re-visit and explore to its southern limit. Somehow, I still believe that I shall do it.

**EDWIN J. SMALLEY**

*One of Cheyenne's First Native Sons*

**By Alice M. Shields\***

It has been seventy years since a little band of Pennsylvanians stepped off the train at Council Bluffs, Iowa, transferred their belongings and their families into prairie schooners drawn by four-mule-teams, and headed west. For weeks they trekked over the many hundred miles of broad Nebraska prair-

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.—Alice M. Shields (Mrs. Jack T.) was born in August, 1893, in Atchison County, Kansas, and came to Cheyenne, Wyoming, in July, 1929.

Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas James Mathews, of Atchison County, Kansas, were married at Effingham of that State in 1886.

For eighteen years before coming to Wyoming Mrs. Shields held positions as a bookkeeper, accountant and secretary in Kansas City, Missouri, and in 1934 she taught commercial subjects in the Cheyenne High School summer and night sessions. She also was engaged on a Statewide Historical Project as a professional employee.

She is a member of the Catholic church and of the Daughters of Isabella, a national organization of Catholic women; is executive secretary of a Cheyenne committee representing the National Organization for Decent Literature, and is a member of the Cheyenne Writers club, which is now inactive.

Her husband has been associated with the Colorado and Southern and the Union Pacific Railroads since 1900, the date of his arrival in Cheyenne, and the couple reside at 415 West Twenty-fifth Street.

ies, and as they traveled they noticed that the gentle slopes of the rolling plains country became more acute. Down the slopes and up the swells they plodded, always thinking that they would see a broad expanse at the top of the next swell, but as they entered what later became Wyoming Territory they found the huge ripples to be continuous. They camped each night and set out again in the early morning. One July day they gazed out upon the mountains in all their frowning-grandeur. Soon the emigrants found themselves crossing a long flat with a creek (Crow Creek) flowing across it. In the clear atmosphere they seemed to be very close to the mountains. They knew that the railroad had been surveyed to pass within a stones throw of the little creek. Like wise they felt a certain security in the fact that they were to be in the shadow of Camp Carlin, United States Army Post, later Fort Russell and now Fort Francis E. Warren. So, considering all things, they elected to bring their journey to an end, and made camp on the banks of the creek. They tethered their mules and their cows and made pens for their fowl. That was on July 12, 1867.

In the little group from Pennsylvania, was F. H. Castle, his wife, and his three children. To Mary Jane Castle, their oldest daughter, the new country was becoming a land of romance. She was soon to be married to one of their party, Benjamin H. Smalley, who hailed from Dutchess County, New York State, where he had been released from the Union Army just the year before. He had joined the Pennsylvanians and had made the long journey to the West with them. So, in the early fall of 1867, Benjamin Smalley and Mary Jane Castle were the principals of the first marriage to take place in the new settlement, which later became Cheyenne. Judge Slaughter, who came West soon after the Pennsylvanians had arrived, performed the marriage ceremony. Among those present at the wedding were J. R. Whitehead and Judge Kuykendall, both of whom later became influential citizens of Cheyenne.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin H. Smalley then joined the Castle family in the building of an adobe house on what is now Carey Avenue, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets. Their land, which cost them four hundred dollars, now is the site of the new Todd Building. Soon the young married couple took up a homestead on Middle Crow Creek. Theirs was one of the first homesteads to be granted in what later became Laramie County, Wyoming, and it is now known as the Ferguson ranch.

On June 27, 1868, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin H. Smalley became the proud parents of their first born, Edwin John Smalley, who came to them at their temporary home which stood on the present site of the Crown Oil Company on Eighteenth and

Capitol Avenue. There was great rejoicing at his birth, because the boy was not only their first born, but he was one of the very first male children to be born in the then fast-growing community.

It was just one month after the birth of Edwin John Smalley that the bill providing for the temporary government of the Territory of Wyoming was approved by President Andrew Jackson, on July 25, 1868. The name "Wyoming" is supposed to be a corruption of the Indian name Maughwauwama, meaning large plains. In September of the same year Laramie County was organized, and Cheyenne, known as the Magic City, had grown to nineteen hundred population and was made the county seat.

Ed Smalley, as he has always been known by the townspeople, has grown up with the town and when he was in the prime of life he served his community as one of its leading citizens. He served in the capacity of police chief, county assessor, and sheriff of Laramie County. Mr. Smalley said he could not remember when Cheyenne was not a small city. His two sisters, Virga Bell (Mrs. A. J. Gereke) and Eva G. (Mrs. M. Morris) were born in Cheyenne.

"My father sold the homestead and went into the freighting business between Cheyenne and Deadwood, South Dakota," Mr. Smalley related. "He had an eight mule-team and a ten mule-team, and hauled flour and sugar as a general thing. Of course he hauled the forage for the mules. The freight rate on commodities was one dollar per hundred pounds for a distance of one hundred miles, and for greater distances, it was three dollars per hundred. In the winter season rates were higher. On one occasion, my father hauled a six thousand pound safe to Deadwood to be delivered to the county treasurer's office. He also freighted a load of flour and sugar on that trip, which was made in the winter time. He collected sixteen dollars per hundred on the shipment, but the expenses connected with the trip were so heavy, due to the fact that it took so long to make the trip, that he did not net on the deal what might be imagined.

"I made several trips with my father during summer vacations, and the rate of speed at which we traveled enabled me to learn every mile of that road, which was three hundred and fifty miles in length. We did not pass through any towns but went by way of the stage stations where the stage coach passengers ate or stopped over, and where fresh horses were hitched to the stage coach. We, with the freight wagons, of course, didn't change our teams but stopped on the open range



near a water-hole, and fed and rested our animals. It was necessary, however, to stop at the feed stables in the winter time and have our mules fed.

We cooked our meals in a Dutch oven over a camp fire, which of course was great sport for me. We carried such provisions as ham, bacon, flour, Arbuckle's coffee, Borden's condensed milk, sugar, and butter. We had a free supply of wild game, especially antelope and sage chicken; also, we had all of the fish that we could eat. You have no idea how delicious the food is when cooked in a Dutch oven, and eaten out in the open. We made our own bread. The recipe used was about the same as that for biscuit, but the dough was baked in one piece. To bake bread or meat in a Dutch oven, we first got a bed of red coals, placed the oven on them, and also piled hot coals over and around the oven. In that way, the baking was slow and thorough and very good.

"Yes, we turned our mules loose on the prairie and left them in care of the bell-mare, which was picketed out in a good feeding spot. We brought the bell-mare along for the express purpose of using her for a herder for the mules. Due to some strange paradox of the mule nature, that beast of burden has from time indefinite considered the mare his guardian. Often when we stopped at a water hole at noon, we were met by droves of range cattle and horses which had come there for a drink, too. The thing that bothered me most on those occasions was the water that Dad used for making our coffee. He would edge his way down to the stream and sink a little hole in the clay with the tin dipper and then step back and wait until it filled up so that he could ladle the water out and fill the coffee pot. Of course it was the same water hole in which the animals were stamping, but we never got sick after drinking it, as I am sure we would, if we did such a thing in these days of hygiene.

"The first stage station after leaving Cheyenne was nine miles out and was called the Sealy Road-house. It was operated by Madam Sealey. The second station, Pole Creek Ranch, was eighteen miles out and was operated and owned by Fred Schwartz. The stage stations were regular eating houses, with meals served at all hours, and were equipped with a bar, and with a stable for the horses and mules. The third station out was Horse Creek Station which was twenty-seven miles from Cheyenne. Chugwater was the fourth station and was fifty-two miles out of Cheyenne. It was equipped with the usual bar, and with stables for seventy-five horses. Horses were hayed for seventy-five cents a span. The fifth station was Hat Creek Ranch, operated by Jack Bowman. It had the usual accommodations."



Asked for an account of one of Cheyenne's famous blizzards, Mr. Smalley referred to a storm which occurred when he was about twelve years old. "That, was about the worst blizzard, which I can recall. Snow fell for days and before long it was six feet deep. I remember that we coasted off the Carey Block Building. That was the storm in which we brought some of the mules into the kitchen to save their lives. My father's mule-shed was at 306 East Twentieth Street. The weight of the drifted snow broke the roof of the shed in on the mules and suffocated five of them. We had a rather long lean-to kitchen and I remember we cleared out the furnishings and led ten of the mules in there out of the storm. It was July before all of the snow was gone. Thousands and thousands of head of cattle and sheep were lost in that storm.

"About forty years ago we had a blizzard in October. It was a beautiful day when the storm broke and it started to thunder and lightning. Soon the snow started and it fell for two days. It seemed to be falling in great wet clumps and clung to anything which it struck on its way down to earth. A great many of the famous Percheron horses at P. O. Ranch were suffocated in that storm. The animals were out in corrals and breathed the heavy fluffs of snow which smothered them."

Mr. Smalley explained that the first school in Cheyenne stood on the corner of what is now Nineteenth and Carey Avenue on the present site of the Cheyenne Hardware Company. The first school which he attended was on the site of the present Masonic Temple at Nineteenth and Capitol Avenue. "It was a three room house and the teacher, Mrs. Ellis, lived in the two rear rooms and conducted the school in the large front room."

### **Luxurious Homes on "Cattlemen's Row"**

Since it is true that E. J. Smalley has lived in Cheyenne all of his life, and all of the life of Cheyenne as well, it is obvious that he knows all of its buildings; also, that he knows who has occupied them. Cheyenne was his childhood world and he, being a typical American boy, knew almost everything of importance that happened in his home town. He watched each building as it was erected, knew who became its occupants, and when its ownership changed hands. When asked about some of Cheyenne's old residences in what was famous as Cattlemen's Row, he said, "You might take a walk down Carey Avenue beginning with the corner of Twenty-fourth Street, just across from the Capitol Building, and try to imagine that it is forty years ago and that Carey Avenue is Ferguson Street. The first large home on Twenty-fourth and Ferguson\*

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\*Now Carey Avenue.

with the imposing entrance on Ferguson and the friendly south veranda, was built over fifty years ago. The stables west of the residence held an array of fine horses and carriages. The home was built by Hi Kelly, stockman and ranch owner, for his wife, an Indian girl from the Sioux Nation, and their family. They moved into the new home when they left their ranch in the Chugwater district."

The house is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Fred Boice, and on being shown through the fine old home by Mrs. Boice, gracious Cheyenne hostess, one is impressed by the spacious drawing rooms, the chandeliers of blazing lights, the fine old cherry woodwork, hand-carved and decorated with real brass knobs and hinges, solid plate-glass windows through which soft light creeps past Venetian-shutters. The old black walnut staircase, hand-carved, winds its way up to the third floor. A stained glass window high above the steps admits mysterious and varied hues of light. Friendly fireplaces, wood-burning, and framed with pictorial English tile are surmounted with rare old wood mantles, each made differently to harmonize with the room in which it is placed. One of English tile is inlaid with gold-leaf. One, a series of Shakespearean pictorial tiles, depicting his immortal characters posing there in familiar scenes set in misty blue, carries the imagination to far away foggy England. There, too, by way of contrast, is the head of Bryant, beloved American poet.

Off the second drawing room is the dining room which opens onto sunny verandas and sun porches. The floor is a masterpiece of exquisite parquetry showing oak, walnut, white maple, and cherry in multiform designs. A door leading to the sun porch is a carving of Norway patterns in rare old wood, mounted on clear plate-glass.

The house, built in 1884, was heated with steam, the pipes being concealed in the side walls. It is apparent that the steam heat was not sufficiently warming, since almost every room in the house is supplied with a fireplace. The butler's pantry and huge kitchen bring visions of loaded tables, savory odors, and sparkling wines.

The wrought-iron fence, a silent expression of the white man's devotion to his Indian wife, is a combination of arrows and tiny tomahawks and encloses the house and grounds. Outside the bay window to the east, grows a horse-chestnut tree, planted by the Indian woman. She planted the apple and pear trees which grow in the side yard, and the white lilac bushes have grown tall since she placed them in the ground a half century ago, but for years they have not bloomed. The story is that the Indian woman, when she was not permitted to

remove the bushes after her home was sold, placed her curse upon them and said they would never bloom again.

"On the opposite corner of the same street intersection stands the red pressed-brick mansion with turret windows and castle-type entrance. The building east of the residence was the stable where fine driving horses and carriages were kept. Mr. M. Idleman, wholesale liquor dealer, built the home and it is still owned by his son, Samuel Idleman. The height of the old pine trees on the lawn proves its age. The house is now under lease by the Schrader Funeral Home.

The wrought-iron fence, enclosing the fine old brick home, is embedded in a red sandstone retaining wall and forms a fitting border for the picture. The house consists of three stories and has twenty-one rooms. The complete third floor was a ball room and has wall seats, covered with red plush cushions, all around the room. The second floor, composed of bed rooms, has full length massive mirrors built in the walls. There is a fireplace in each of the important rooms, and a few of the rooms are furnished with marble top dressers. There are four bath rooms in the house, and wide halls run through the second floor. A cedar lined closet room at the rear end of the hall was probably used for storing furs and woolens. A dumb-waiter, which obviously carried breakfasts to late sleepers and refreshments to dancers, starts from the kitchen. A broad and winding stairway leads to the first floor, which is spacious and beautiful with paneled halls and solid walnut doors and woodwork. A sun room on the south was made for a flower room. The rich massiveness of the place is fascinating.

"One block down Ferguson, and on the corresponding corner stands the old home of the Whitcomb family built by E. W. Whitcomb, prominent Wyoming stockman. Mrs. Whitcomb was the daughter of a Sioux Indian woman." said Mr. Smalley. The architecture of the old house shows a liberal amount of ginger-bread style decoration, hand carved staircase, parquet floors, high ceilings and massive doors. Parts of the old wrought-iron fence are left standing and the stable which is in advanced stage of ruin, was in keeping with the style of the residence. The air of the place gives an impression of dainty parasols and petticoats. The old home is used now as a rooming house.

"One block down the street, where the Presbyterian church built of white stone now stands, was the home of E. P. Johnson, cattleman and real estate dealer. He, at one time was in partnership in the real estate business with the late Charles Riner. In later years the home belonged to C. P. Organ, cattleman.

"Directly across the street on the north-east corner of the intersection of Twenty-second and Ferguson is a rambling old

buff brick, which with its lawn, occupies a quarter block. It has stood hard usage in recent years having been a rooming house, a hospital, and again a rooming house. It was built by George Seawright, cattleman and it was the home of the Seawright family for many years. Later it belonged to M. E. Post, prominent stockman and banker. The interior of the old home retains an air of its former style with its winding stairways and open fireplaces.

"Across the street south from the Seawright home and on the south-west corner of the same street intersection, stands a massive old brick with high windows and dark doors. Recently it has been converted into a rooming house. It was built by T. A. Kent, cattleman and banker, and after many years was sold to J. Arp, early-day hardware merchant of Cheyenne.

"Just across the fence to the south of the Arp home is another red brick, tall, rambling, and dignified. It was built by George A. Draper, cattleman and grocer, and was the home of the Draper family for many years. Later it was purchased by George H. Gilland, cattleman. Mrs. Gilland, his widow, lives there now. The bulk of the Gilland fortune, built up in the cattle industry, was lost a number of years ago. However, the old home is maintained in dignity and beauty, with its rare pieces of furniture, its many books, cut glass, old silverware, and hand-painted China (the work of Mrs. Gilland), adding their charm to the large, high-ceilinged rooms.

"On the south-east corner of the same intersection, Twenty-second and Ferguson, facing the Arp home, stands the old Carey mansion. It was built by Joseph M. Carey,—Governor of Wyoming (1911-1915), and has since remained in the Carey family. Mrs. Carey lived in the home until her death. The Carey children were born and reared there, one of the sons being the late United States Senator from Wyoming, Robert Carey. The late Charles Carey, second son, was one of Wyoming's foremost cattlemen. The house, a beautiful testimonial to early Western grandeur, with its fine old stable and carriage house in the rear, now belongs to the Carey heirs, and is under lease as a home for business and professional women."

The Carey home, of red brick and red sandstone with a wrought-iron fence around the yard, is three stories high and contains twenty-five rooms. The imposing entrance with the electric knocker on the massive door gives an atmosphere of grave dignity, and when the door is opened one is met with a sweeping view of open drawing rooms, walnut wood blended with highly polished cherry and oak, rose-point lace and Nottingham lace glass curtains, brilliant chandeliers of sparkling crystal, fireplaces of pictorial English tile, broad polished stairways, and parquetry floors. The fireplace in the bedroom



where Joseph M. Carey slept on the second floor is bordered with pictorial tiles showing ranch scenes and wild animal life. Marble top dressers and a massive wooden bedstead grace the room.

"Across the street and down to Twenty-first and Ferguson on the northwest corner of the intersection, stands the modernistic Federal Building. The home of James W. Hammond, owner of the Cheyenne Packing House forty years ago, once stood there. Likewise, the home of Luke Voorhees, cattleman, stood there. The latter a hugh white frame building was moved from the site when the Government bought the ground, and was taken to the corner of Thomes Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street where it was divided and made into two apartment houses.

"H. G. Hay, cattleman and grocer, built his home on the southwest corner of the intersection of Ferguson and Twentieth Street. It is now known as the Shingle Apartment Building.

"Directly across Ferguson to the east, was the home of L. Murrin, wholesale liquor dealer, who also was at one time county treasurer and probate judge.

"Jay Joslin, jeweler and stockman, built the house where the Wayne Daniels Filling Station is now. Mr. Joslin later opened the Joslin Dry Goods Store in Denver.

"The castle-like building of gray stone on Twentieth and Ferguson was built by D. D. Dare who was one of the early day hardware dealers. The house was known as Castle Dare, and after it changed ownership a few times, it became the Club House for the Odd Fellows Lodge."

### **Water Supply Hauled From Crow Creek**

The water supply for the best homes was kept in water tanks concealed in the attic and then piped through the house. Mr. Smalley pointed out, however, that water for the greater number of homes was stored in barrels which had been sunk in the ground in the back yard for use as a reservoir. The water was hauled from Crow Creek in barrels by a man named Bates. He charged twenty-five cents for a barrel and five cents for a bucket of water.

The water used for irrigation purposes and fires was pumped from Sloan's Lake into shallow ditches on the sides of the streets. Cisterns were sunk at certain street corners for the purpose of storing the water to use in case of fire.

"The volunteer hook and ladder and hose squad fought the fires. The Alerts were a company of Fire Fighters who had their headquarters on Capitol Avenue between Seventeenth



and Eighteenth Streets. John M. St. John of Camp Carlin came in with his 'Steamer', used for pumping water into the hose from the cisterns, when the fire broke out."

Asked about the race tracks in Cheyenne, before betting was outlawed, Mr. Smalley said, "The first race track was on the present site of the Carey Dairy east of town. My father drove in one of the first races there for an officer of Camp Carlin, Major Wooley. The second race track was opened out near Sloan's Lake, the third at Pioneer Park, and the last one, at which free for all betting was done, was in Alta Vista Addition."

Since the "round-up" is a part of Wyoming, Mr. Smalley was asked to explain the meaning of the term. "I worked on the B. S. Hopkins ranch for awhile when Mr. Hopkins, a trotting horse fan, was away. That is the same ranch on which my father homesteaded. It was not large, but contained about four thousand acres open range (unfenced land). When round-up time came in the spring, it meant catching and branding the new calves. A cowboy with a string of horses, six or seven saddle animals, and a pack horse for his blankets, started out across the country in search of the owner's cattle. The cowboy was known as a 'rep', representative for his ranch. Sometimes he rode fifteen or twenty miles before he found a bunch of cattle. Reps from all different ranches went out the same way with the understanding of where the round-up was to be held. All of the cattle were driven to that spot. The chuck wagon and the cook were headed toward that point also. Each cow-boy followed the cattle in and then each one roped his owner's calves for branding. After the branding they were turned loose on the range again until fall, when the beef round-up took place, at which time the beef cattle were cut out and sent to market. The reason for the cowboy having six or seven horses, was that cutting out cattle is very strenuous work."

### Exciting Childhood Incidents

Mr. Smalley's very early childhood was spent on his father's ranch and he said with an extra draw at his pipe, "There is one incident that has remained outstanding in my memory. My mother was taking my sister Virga Bell, aged three, for a ride in her perambulator, and I, six, was following along. We were going through the prairie to our nearest neighbors, the Robert Bishops, when Smokey, a steer which was known as a 'bunch quitter', because he would not stay with the herd, came toward us on the run. Mother saw him coming and called to me to hurry and get under the rail fence. We all got under the fence in time to see Smokey gore the little buggy to bits.

I was somewhat frightened. Within the next day or so Wash Callahan, a big negro, rode the steer, just in fun, when he was taking him over to Carey's ranch, but his weight was too great and he injured the animal's back. Smokey was shot then and his horns were mounted. I recently disposed of the horns to a curio hunter.

"One of the excitements of my day as a boy was to watch the stage coaches come in from Deadwood. I admire the drivers' skill in handling the four and six-horse teams and used to wish that I could grow up and take part in what appeared to me to be a thrilling adventure. Some of the famous Western characters, whom I saw when they came in by stage from Deadwood, were Wild Bill Hickock, Calamity Jane, Buffalo Bill, and a few others not so widely known. Bill Hickock and Buffalo Bill often visited with Major Talbot at his home west of town. It was their favorite pass-time to shoot at targets with their pistols. Major Talbot usually proved to be the best shot.

"I used to enjoy a visit to the I X L ranch, particularly so because Charley Terry, the owner, raised a great many good saddle horses. Charley Terry sold the ranch later to the Warren Live Stock Company, who changed the I on the brand to 7 which made their brand as it is today, 7 X L. Terry and his partner had a feed stable in Cheyenne on Sixteenth Street, known as Terry and Hunter I X L Feed Stable." After a moments thought in which he went back to his school days, Mr. Smalley said, "There was a Clara Terry who went to our school—not from the same Terry family as Charley Terry. She was quite good looking and had a lovely singing voice, in fact, she was known as Wyoming's nightingale. I remember how the boys at school considered her to be the model girl of the school. She had two dresses, one was blue, I think it was flannel, and the other one was brown flannel. She wore low heels and never used powder, but always had a red geranium, in her hair. One of the lakes in Lyons Park, Terry Lake, was named for her. The Terrys lived back of the Capitol Building at 2514 Capitol Avenue.

"That house has a little story," he said. "It was the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Vanice before the Terrys lived there. One evening Mr. Vanice was down town in his buggy, and when he got home at about dusk, his wife told him that a man had been there and that he had been insolent in his request for food. Mr. Vanice fetched his six shooter and went out to look for the man. When her husband did not return home that night, Mrs. Vanice notified the police. A posse went on the search for him and found his horse and buggy out near Round-Top. The lines were wound around the hub of the buggy but there was no sign of Mr. Vanice. After a while

they discovered an abandoned well, and there they found his body. He had been shot. They never found the killer. There was a great deal of lawlessness then. The first legal hanging was made by Jeff Carr, acting United States Marshal, in the Government Building at Twentieth and O'Neil Avenue. The criminal was a half breed Indian. Before that time the hanging was done by 'Jedge Lynch'.

A humorous incident of the horse and buggy days was related with a chuckle. "The regular Sunday afternoon band concerts held at Fort Russell were the reason for a real turn out by the towns-people. The finest horses and buggies in the land were to be seen there. Cheyenne was a wealthy town, and much wealth was on display on those occasions. The ladies were beautifully dressed. One of Cheyenne's most popular women was Mrs. M. E. Post, wife of the banker and the owner of the P. O. Ranch. Mrs. Post drove a fine pacing horse which she called Ledger, and every Sunday afternoon she showed the horse's style by racing him down the Boulevard (now Pershing Boulevard). It was Mrs. Post's delight to urge Ledger in a race against the pole-team belonging to A. R. Converse, her husband's banking partner. She usually won the race too. And then, as regularly as clock work, she was caused to appear before the Police Judge on Monday morning to pay her fine for speeding. 'I don't care about paying the fine,' she would declare, 'just so I beat old Converse in the race, I'm happy!' It got to the point where everyone looked for the weekly race."

Incidentally, Mr. Smalley explained that the only transportation from Fort Russell to Cheyenne for several years was an old ambulance driven by Fritz. Fritz charged twenty-five cents per ride.

Mr. Smalley said that he never saw Indians on the war path, but related that the town of Archer, a few miles east of Cheyenne, was named for a United States Army Captain by that name, who was killed near that point by the Indians.

He also revealed that Hillsdale, Wyoming, twenty miles east of Cheyenne, was named for a civil engineer by the name of Hill, who was surveying the Union Pacific railroad, when he was killed by Indians. He was an uncle to the Reverend Hill, one time Presbyterian minister of Cheyenne.

### **As Sheriff, Arrested Notorious Tom Horn**

When Edwin Smalley was seventeen years old he stood six feet, one and one-half inches tall and weighed one-hundred and sixty pounds; so he decided, since he was a man's size, that he would cut high school and go to work and do a man-size

job. His first work was clerk for the Leiby Grocery Company. One year later he found that he could earn more money at the A. C. Snyder meat market. He was with that firm for some time when he took a job with the Union Mercantile Company. He had been with that company for five years when in 1901 he received an appointment from the county commissioners to fill the unexpired term of the Laramie County Sheriff, John P. Shaver, who died while in office.

There was much activity in the life of a sheriff in those years when the county was yet new. The breaking up of the extensive operations in cattle rustling was one of the major duties for the sheriff. Likewise the catching of horse-thieves was a major chore. Mr. Smalley said that on different occasions he had ridden horseback for one hundred or more miles before running down a horse thief. He was serving his first year in office as sheriff of Laramie County when he arrested and took as his prisoner, Tom Horn, the outstanding criminal and subject of Wyoming's most publicized hanging, and at one time noted cattle detective.

When asked to give a synopsis of that much written up affair so that his point of view on the subject might be recorded, Mr. Smalley, the sheriff in the case, took another draw from his pipe, and said with ever so slight a quickness in his voice, "Horn had been suspicioned of the murder of Willie Nickell, son of an Iron Mountain rancher, for six months before his confession was secured. One Sunday morning in January 1902, Joe LeFors, deputy United States Marshal, got Tom Horn to go to the office of the United States Marshal with him on the pretext of hiring him to do a "job" in Montana. It had been arranged for Charley Ohnhaus, stenographer, and Les Snow, a deputy sheriff, to hide in the adjoining office where they could listen to the conversation between Joe and Tom. Ohnhaus was prepared to take the conversation down in shorthand. The boys were lying on the floor on the other side of the door on a buffalo skin overcoat. There was a crack an inch wide at the top of the door, so they could easily hear what was being said in the other room. LeFors and Tom got to talking about the new "job" that Tom was to do in Montana, when Tom said 'I have never got my employers in any trouble yet' LeFors said, 'I know you are a good man for the place, Tom. You are the best man to cover up your trail that I ever saw. In the Willie Nickell killing I could never find your trail; and I pride myself on being a trailer.' Tom said, 'No by—I left no trail. Joe LeFors said, 'Have you got your money for killing the kid?' Tom Horn said, 'I got that before I did the job. That was the best shot I ever made and the dirtiest trick I ever done!'

"After Horn's confession was recorded, I was given the warrant for his arrest. I learned that Tom was in the lobby of



the Inter-Ocean Hotel, where he was stopping, so I with my deputy, R. A. Proctor, went on down there. We found him sitting on one of the leather settees in the lobby and talking to a Union Pacific Special Agent by the name of Wheeler. Tom usually wore his coat and his vest unbuttoned and carried his gun thrust into his trousers, fastened, of course, to the trouser belt. The butt of his gun rested right at the pit of his stomach which made it easy for him to draw in quick time. I called 'Hello Tom,' and he got to his feet and put his hand out to greet me and said, 'Hello Tommy'. He called me Tommy. I shook hands with him with my right hand and at the same time grabbed his gun with my left. He was mildly surprised at my taking his gun but showed no inclination to fight. I said, 'Tom, I have a warrant for your arrest.' 'The h--- you have! What for?' he demanded. I then read the warrant to him and said, 'You'll have to come along to the jail with me Tom.' 'All right,' he said, 'but say Tommy, leave my gun at the desk and ask them to take care of it for me, will you?' 'No, I'll put it in the safe up at the jail, Tom, for safe keeping,' I told him. He came along with me without any protest whatever. I didn't even put the cuffs on him. As we were walking along I asked, 'How much do you weigh Tom?' 'I weigh about two-hundred and one pounds,' he said. 'How old are you Tom and what is your height?' I asked. 'I'm forty-four years, forty-four months, forty-four days, forty-four hours, and forty-four seconds, and I'm six foot one inch tall,' he answered with his usual joking manner. After I locked his cell he asked to see LeFors. He smelled a rat, all right, (It was Joe LeFors, Deputy United States Marshal who secured Tom Horn's confession through a ruse.) I telephoned LeFors who was down at Walter Stoll's office. (Walter Stoll was the County Prosecuting Attorney.) LeFors said he didn't want to see Tom, but I suggested he might come and talk to him for a little. He did, but only talked for a few minutes. Horn said to him, 'They got me in here for killing that kid.' Joe said, 'the H--- they have'. There was not much said between them. Judge Lacey took the defense for Tom Horn, and that was the first criminal case he had bothered with for a long time, as he was always overly busy with bigger things in the civil courts. T. Blake Kennedy, R. N. Matson, T. F. Burke, and Mr. Corthell from Laramie City were also attorneys for his defense. Those men represented the outstanding legal power in the state. Well, as every one knows, it was a long drawn out affair. After all was said and done and after a great many of Wyoming's most prominent cattlemen had interceded for him, Tom Horn was hanged on November 20, 1903. He had steadfastly denied his guilt and swore that the afore-mentioned confession was secured when he was drunk. I am sure that he was confident to the last minute of his life, that the Gov-



error of the State, Chatterton, would commute his sentence. I am also sure that he was guilty of the murder of Willie Nickell for which crime he hanged. However, I think that it was a case of mistaken identity, and that Tom Horn had intended to kill the Senior Nickell instead of his son Willie Nickell. I believe that he was paid to commit the crime just the same as he was paid to commit similar crimes which occurred throughout the state. Several months after he was hanged, a ranchman riding the range found Tom Horn's coat. The letters found in that coat not only verified his confession but implicated others. The names, if they had been known, would have bankrupt the county in making prosecutions."

Mr. Smalley's efficiency in the office of Sheriff was manifested by his re-election for five successive terms of two years each. In 1911 he was appointed to the office of chief of police. He also served as county assessor for five years, and in 1917 he was appointed to fill the unexpired term of Pat Hayes, a sheriff who died in office. In 1919 Mr. Smalley again returned to private business by becoming the dealer for the Shutiler Wagon, the Champion Mowing Machine, and other agricultural implements.

It was on June 3, 1902, that Edwin John Smalley and Edith A. Sloan, daughter of one of Cheyenne's earliest pioneers, were married. By their marriage two of the oldest families of Cheyenne were united. Edith A. Sloan is the daughter of the late Mathew Sloan, pioneer from Pennsylvania, who was Mayor of Cheyenne in 1872. He owned and operated the Sloan Dairy north of town for many years, and it was in his honor that Cheyenne's well known lake Sloan's Lake, was named.

Five children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Smalley: Alice Smalley, school teacher near Baggs, Wyoming; Edwin Benjamin Smalley, business man in the neighboring state of Nebraska, located in the town of Gering; Edna Smalley, business girl, Cheyenne; Robert Smalley, business man, Cheyenne, and Mary Jane Smalley, nurses Training School, Memorial Hospital, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Mr. and Mrs. Smalley and their family have lived in their present home at 624 East Twenty-second Street, Cheyenne, for the past twenty-six years.

Mr. Smalley, now nearing the age of seventy, is hale and hearty and thoroughly enjoys talking of the old days in Wyoming.

NOTE.—This article was written in March, 1937, preceding the death of Edwin J. Smalley, on November 21, 1937, at Cheyenne, Wyoming. Mrs. Smalley resides in Cheyenne.—Editor.

**MY MAGIC HOUSE**

By Nora Moss Law\*

I can see a mud-chinked cabin  
Where the old Uintah flows  
Down from out the Rocky Mountains,  
Through the deep Wyoming snows.

I was born in that log cabin  
'Way out yonder in the West  
Where the scenery is rugged,  
In the State that I love best,

Out at famous old Fort Bridger  
With the soldiers and the Utes,  
The Shoshones and the cowboys—  
'Midst the stockmen's loud disputes.

There were then no fancy diets,  
No vitamins to choose;  
My mother gave me sweet sage tea,  
And aged squaws made my shoes.

I can see my father drilling  
All his soldiers on parade;  
The cannon and the Army mule—  
O, what a dust they made!

Still I love the smell of sagebrush,  
Love the cactus and the grouse;  
That wee cabin with the dirt roof  
Is my fancy's Magic House.

So in "Wonderful Wyoming"  
Where rare charm meets every quest,  
Is my Dream House most enchanting,  
In the State that I love best.

\*NOTE.—Mrs. Law, a California teacher, was born on a ranch near Fort Bridger, Wyoming, and though absent from the State many years, still enjoys being known as a Wyoming "rustler." She is a member of the California Writers' Club and her articles have appeared in university publications, as well as in California and Wyoming newspapers.

Her father, William Cartier Moss, was an early Wyoming pioneer.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY  
C. G. COUTANT, PIONEER HISTORIAN,  
AND HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter X

**Laramie County**

**Acts Passed by Dakota Legislature to Establish Laramie  
County Boundaries and Grant Charter to Cheyenne—  
First Election Under Charter Held January 23, 1868.**

Without reference to other important events that transpired during the years 1868-1869, the writer will at this point undertake the difficult task of tracing step by step the various changes in county and municipal affairs, which eventually had their outcome in a legal and permanent organization of the city and county under the laws of Wyoming Territory. To do this intelligibly it will not only be necessary to retrace our steps for a short distance, but the story now to be told will bring the reader down to a period of time, some two years later than the date of the murder of Mead and Hazlett in November, '67, so that at the end of the present chapter, or rather at the beginning of the one to follow, the reader will again be invited to go back for a period of two years—beginning where we left off with Mead and Hazlett—from which point to the conclusion of the history of Laramie County and Cheyenne, the reader will find everything which space will admit recording, mentioned substantially in chronological order.

For the reason that at present (1886) there is not a single record in the county clerk's office in Laramie County to show that anybody was ever elected to an office in the county prior to the year, 1874. (Through no fault of the county clerk, however, the task now to be undertaken is an exceedingly difficult and perplexing one.)

It has already been seen that on the 10th day of August, 1867, a provisional city government was organized in Cheyenne and that on October 8th of the same year a provisional county organization was also effected. With these two facts as a corner stone or a starting point let us see what followed.

As before stated, what is now Wyoming was but an outlying portion of the territory of Dakota, although the western part of what is now Wyoming was originally detached from the territories of Utah and Idaho and for some time was called "Carter County."

Judge J. R. Whitehead, who was elected at the provisional election in 1867 as a member of the Dakota House of Representatives, in due time proceeded to Yankton, S. D., to fulfill his

mission. Though not regularly elected, he was admitted as a member of the 1867 session of the legislature. The Judge had at least two objects in view and he successfully accomplished both, and it has always been considered exceedingly fortunate that the people of Cheyenne and vicinity had so faithful and able a champion of their rights to guard their interests at that time. One of these objects was to get a bill through the legislature organizing and defining the boundaries of what is now Laramie County, and another was to get an act passed granting a charter to the City of Cheyenne. The first of these acts was passed and approved December 27, 1867, and the latter shortly after, and the legislature having adjourned, Judge Whitehead hastened back to Cheyenne bringing duly certified copies of both bills with him.

The bill designated who should constitute the first set of county officers. Some of them were among those elected under the provisional organization while others were not, so that the first set of county officers Laramie County ever had under and by virtue of competent legislative authority were as follows: Sheriff, J. L. Laird; County Clerk, W. L. Morris; District Attorney, E. P. Johnson; Judge of Probate and Treasurer, W. L. Kuykendall; Superintendent of Schools, J. H. Gildersleeve; Coroner, D. G. B. Johnson; Surveyor, S. H. Winsor; County Commissioners, Benjamin Ellenger, P. McDonald and John Beals.

Under the laws of Dakota the official year commenced on the second Monday of November in each year and such being the case, the new officers qualified and entered upon the discharge of their respective duties at once to serve until the next November.

On the 23rd day of January, 1868, the first election was held under the charter granted by the Dakota legislature. A meeting was called and Col. Luke Murrin was nominated for the position of mayor. Politics, however, so far as the Republican and Democratic parties were concerned, was not much regarded in those days. A number of citizens, however, thought there ought to be two candidates in the field and circulated a petition asking W. W. Corlett to run as a candidate. When signed and presented it was more than a yard long. Mr. Corlett consented to run, but the result was the election of Colonel Murrin for Mayor and Messrs. N. A. Hodgeman, William Wise, John F. Hamilton, P. McDonald, J. C. Liddell and Charles Steinberger for members of the city council. As the charter then provided that the marshal, clerk and treasurer should be elected by a direct vote of the people, Messrs. D. J. Sweeney, Edward Orpen and R. K. Morrison were respectively elected to these positions

almost without opposition. The new city council convened January 30, 1868, Mayor Murrin in the chair. The new members of the council were sworn in and proceeded to elect a city attorney—Wm. H. Miller being chosen—he having received four votes, J. W. Cook, two, and Chord, one—the mayor at that time being entitled to a vote. Thus were the county and city governments transformed from mere provisional affairs to governments established by competent legislative authority, and put in working order under the laws of Dakota territory.

To trace the two governments to this point to those established in their stead under the laws of Wyoming will be next in order and here it might be mentioned that the Dakota legislature also provided that Laramie County should constitute the Second Judicial District of that territory and Hon. Asa Bartlett then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Dakota, was assigned as the presiding Judge who commenced the holding of a term of court in Cheyenne on the second Monday in March, 1868, with J. W. Hutchinson, Clerk of Court; J. L. Laird, Deputy U. S. Marshal; E. P. Johnson, Assistant U. S. Attorney, and at about the same time J. P. Barlett arrived in Cheyenne and entered upon the discharge of his duties as U. S. Commissioner.

Not until the first Monday in September, 1868, was there an election held under the Dakota laws for County Officers. The result was as follows: For delegate in Congress, S. L. Spink, 709; D. J. Toohy, 683; W. A. Burleigh, 643; S. B. Todd, 381; J. P. Kidder, 29.

On the county ticket the vote was Sheriff, D. J. Sweeney, 1,290; E. P. Snow, 1,102; Register of Deeds, W. W. Slaughter, 1,198; Wm. Morris, 1,140; Knox, 96; Judge of Probate, W. L. Kuykendall, 1,543; N. P. Cook, 876; County Attorney, E. L. Kerr, 1,391; J. E. Palmer, 1,015; County Superintendent of Schools, M. M. McKay, 1,175; H. P. Jensen, 1,066; Coroner, J. H. Douglas, 1,371; H. Finrock, 876; Surveyor, S. F. Watts, 1,446; S. H. Winsor, 946. From the foregoing, it is easy, of course, to see who the county officers were in the year 1868.

At the same election the following was the result so far as Justices of the Peace and Constables were concerned: Justice, M. O'Brien, 1,004; W. H. Hinman, 1,000; S. W. Curran, 875; J. Keenan, 950; Constables, J. S. Sullivan, 1,278; J. W. Allen, 960; John Garrett, 837; George H. Harding, 734; M. Hall, 946; Messrs. O'Brien and Hinman being elected Justices, while Sullivan and Allen became the Constables. It should be stated here that at that time, and for some years later, Justices and Constables were elected by the vote of the entire county.



## Chapter XI

## Laramie County

**Next Municipal Election December 28, 1868—Wyoming Created a Territory, July 25, 1868—First Legislative Assembly, October 12, 1869—Supreme Court Rules "Appointive Power Vested in Governor."**

The next municipal election in the City of Cheyenne was held December 28, 1868, with the following result: Mayor, Washington W. Slaughter; City Clerk, Edward Orpen; City Marshal, John Burrough; City Treasurer, Chas. Thurman; and for Councilmen, F. H. Barrall, Benjamin Gallagher, H. A. Eilfelder, H. J. O'Brien, J. R. Whitehead and A. P. Sanford; H. Garbaniti was chosen City Attorney. When the council organized and the newly elected mayor took his seat, Ex-Mayor Murrin made a neat little speech and expressed thanks to the retiring members of the council for courtesies extended.

On the 25th day of July, 1868, the Act of Congress creating the Territory of Wyoming was approved and shortly afterwards the following named officers for the territory were nominated and confirmed; Governor, John A. Campbell; Secretary of the Territory; Edward M. Lee; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John H. Howe; the Associate Justices, Wm. T. Jones, John W. Kingman; United States Attorney, Joseph M. Carey; Surveyor General, Silas Reed; U. S. Marshal, Church Howe; Assessor of Internal Revenue Collector, Thomas Harlan; Register of Land Office, C. C. Crowe; Receiver of Public Money, Frank Wolcott.

Governor Campbell and Secretary Lee arrived in Cheyenne during the latter part of July, 1869, and on the 3rd of August, the Governor issued his proclamation directing that an election be held on the 2nd day of September for delegate in Congress and members of the council (Senate) and House of Representatives of the First Legislative Assembly.

Within sixty days after Governor Campbell arrived in Cheyenne, he issued as many as nine separate proclamations on various subjects, one of them directing that the First Legislative Assembly should convene at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869.

The Legislature of Dakota as early as December 27, 1867, had made a geographical sub-division of the then portion of that territory subsequently included within the boundaries of Wyoming, and had given them names, etc., so that the proclamation of the Governor of August 3, 1869, did not undertake to define the boundaries of any of the elective districts, except where more than one county comprised the same district—but designated them by the respective names conferred by the Dakota Legislature.

Under the appointment made by the Governor, Laramie County, comprised of all the territory east of Dakota and Nebraska and between Montana on the north and Colorado on the south and extending as far west as what is now Buford station on the Union Pacific Railway, was given three members of the territorial council and four members of the House of Representatives. The election in Laramie County resulted as follows: Members of the Territorial Council, F. D. Murrin, 553 votes; J. R. Whitehead, 549; F. W. Poole, 546; A. R. Converse, 388; H. J. Rogers, 392; J. D. Wooley, 365; House of Representatives, J. C. Abney, 580; Howard Sebree, 580; Posey S. Wilson, 588—the result electing Messrs. Whitehead, Murrin and Poole to the Council and Messrs. Abney, Sebree and Wilson to the House—all Democrats.

Under the organic act of Wyoming, the county officers elected under the laws of Dakota in 1868 were to hold over until such time as the legislature of Wyoming should provide for the appointment or election of their successors.

One step further will bring the reader through to the point designed to be shown in this chapter, namely: To the establishment of municipal and county governments under the laws of the Territory of Wyoming, although as the sequel will show, there are yet to be rival organizations in the case of the latter before the result is reached—rival organizations in which two sets of county officers, each claiming to be the legal one, came in conflict, disputed and clashed for a time.

It will be remembered that the last municipal election was held December 28, 1868, and that at that election, Washington Slaughter was elected mayor of the City of Cheyenne. A new "dispensation" occurred before the one of which mention is about to be made.

The First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory convened at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869, and on November 20th, by joint resolution, extended the time of its sitting from forty to sixty days, which, under the organic act, it was authorized to do. On December 10th it enacted and granted to the City of Cheyenne a charter which, of course repealed and supplanted the old one containing a provision that the officers elected at the last preceding municipal election should remain in office until their successors should be elected and qualified according to law.

The new charter divided the city into four wards and provided that a Board of Trustees, consisting of five members, one of whom should be chosen president and should be "ex-officio" mayor of the city, should be chosen annually by a vote of the qualified voters of the city, and which Board was vested with the power of appointing all other city officers.

The charter failed to provide for an election in December, 1869, but nevertheless one was held and Messrs. J. H. Martin, G. W. Corey, I C. Whipple, H. H. Ellis and B. L. Ford were elected as members of the Board of Trustees—the first under the new charter. The new Board convened at the office of Dr. G. W. Corey on the evening of December 30, 1869, and organized by the election of John H. Martin, President, who thereby became Mayor and Dr. Corey, Vice-President. The following city officers were then appointed: Marshal, S. M. Preshaw; Treasurer, C. D. Sherman; Clerk, F. E. Addams; Attorney, G. W. Cook; Fire Warden, R. H. Kipp; Policemen, G. S. Raymond and J. H. Slaughter.

As no question appears to have been raised in regard to the legality of an election which was not provided for in the charter, the City of Cheyenne then had an undisputed municipal organization and government under the laws of Wyoming.

Let us now see how it was with the first set of Laramie County Officers under the laws of Wyoming. It will be remembered that the last election for county officers had been held on the 2nd day of September, 1868, and the officers then elected were under the organic act to hold over until the Legislature of Wyoming should provide a new set by appointment or election.

As the first session was drawing to a close it occurred to the Laramie County members that something must be done regarding this matter and the result was the passage of a bill in both branches of the Legislature appointing a full set of officers for Laramie County. Governor Campbell vetoed the bill on the ground that it was taking away from him his constitutional and rightful prerogative. As the Legislature, politically considered, was of a different complexion from the Governor, the bill was promptly passed over the veto by not only the required two-thirds vote, but unanimously, and was proclaimed to be a law.

The officers named in this bill were as follows: County Commissioners, L. Murrin, H. J. Rogers, Geo. D. Fogelson; Sheriff, T. Jeff Carr; Judge of Probate, W. L. Kuykendall; County Clerk, John T. Chappin; Coroner, C. C. Furley; Surveyor, S. H. Winsor; County Attorney, H. Garbaniti; County Superintendent of Public Schools, H. P. Peck. Justices and Constables in various portions of the County were also named in the bill.

Not to be outdone in the generous work of supplying Laramie County with a full set of officers without putting the people of the county to the inconvenience of expressing their will in the matter through the medium of the ballot box, Governor Campbell made haste to appoint officers of his selection. They were as follows: Sheriff, S. M. Preshaw; County Clerk, F. E.

Addoms; Judge of Probate, etc., Daniel McLaughlin; Assessor, J. K. Jeffrey; Superintendent of Schools, Rev. J. D. Davis; Coroner, S. Hurlbut; County Commissioners, A. R. Converse, H. J. Rogers and B. Gallagher.

With two sets of county officers and two rival organizations with which to commence its career as one of the counties of the new territory, a striking contrast was presented as compared with earlier days when, ignoring party ties and affiliations, the parties and founders of Cheyenne and Laramie County had stood side by side, an unbroken phalanx to battle and contend for the common welfare of all against the common enemy of all—the Sioux and Arapahoes, the hoodlums and the desperadoes. But in this instance, however, the partisan strife (always an impediment and a foe to progress and good government) did not succeed in working disastrous results. The good sense of many of the people who had, however, been practically ignored, inasmuch as they had not been consulted in the matter of county officers, prevailed, and public sentiment ordained that the dispute should be settled amicably in the Courts, which was done. The Supreme Court of Wyoming holding, when the question was brought before it, that the appointing power was vested in the Governor and not the Legislature. This officially disposed of the Legislative appointees, and whether right or wrong the decision was jointly acquiesced in by a vast majority of the people of the county.

(To be Continued)

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## ERRATA

A letter from Miss Martha M. Turner newspaper librarian of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska calls attention to an error in the C. G. Coutant History of Wyoming, Chapter 8, at page 326 of the October, 1940, issue of the Annals. Reference is made to "O. F. Williams," early day editor of the "Rocky Mountain Star" at Cheyenne in 1867, whereas Miss Turner believes him to be "Oliver T. B. Williams" who earlier edited a newspaper in her home town of Columbus, Nebraska, and whom her father followed in the publishing business.

Miss Turner's identification of the "Star" editor coincides with I. S. Bartlett in his History of Wyoming, and Douglas C. McMurtrie in his article, "Pioneer Printing in Wyoming," published in the January, 1933, issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING. Both Mr. Bartlett and Mr. McMurtrie refer to the "Star" editor as "O. T. B. Williams."



### Oxen Were First "Tenderfeet"

"Tenderfoot," popular western appellation attached to uninitiated travelers from the east, first referred to oxen pulling west-bound covered wagons, and originated about 90 years ago during the gold rush to California. The story is related in the October, 1939, issue of "The Pony Express Courier," published at Placerville, California.

Headed for California in 1850, one of the gold-rushers, "Pop" Haver, paused during the summer, in the wearisome journey, at hot springs near Humboldt, in order that his stock might recuperate for the remainder of the trip. Before the trek was resumed, however, he took advantage of an opportunity to increase his wealth certainly and quickly by trading his 22 head of "trail-ready" stock for more than three times that number from another western bound caravan. This type of procedure continued through the following winter and proved to be highly profitable, "so that by the time spring arrived, Haver owned more than 200 head of stock, 20 wagons and more goods and personal property than he could haul. \*\*\*\*"

Thus the station became a fixture, and was dubbed the "tenderfoot" station, where tenderfooted animals were disposed of and fresh ones obtained. As a new caravan approached the place, a frequent remark was, "I wonder how many tender feet in that outfit?"

## ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1940, to December 31, 1940

### MUSEUM

#### Pictures -- Gifts

Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Three tinted photographs in oval frames. Edwin J. Smalley; Benjamin H. Smalley; Mrs. B. H. Smalley (Mary Jane Castle)

Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Postcard picture of first Frontier Days Queen, Miss Helen Bonham.

Haas, Charles C., Box 222, Whitewood, South Dakota.— Picture of "Ceremonial Rocks" ridge in South Dakota ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ ); Picture of planetable map of "Ceremonial Rocks" in South Dakota, ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ ).

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. through J. E. Graf, Associate Director.— Photographic print  $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ , entitled "The Photographer's Assistants," being early day pack outfit of W. H. Jackson.

Adamsky, Mrs. Ralph, Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Painting of Chief Lone Wolf, on leather  $28'' \times 35''$ .



**Pictures -- Purchased**

Photograph, Wyoming State flower, Indian Paintbrush, hand-tinted (10" x 14½").

**Documents**

Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Receipt of David McLaughlin, Deputy Treasurer, Laramie County, to J. H. Castle, for \$6.75, dated January 20, 1870, Territory of Wyoming; Quit-claim Deed, dated September 30, 1867, from Mrs. John A. Borger to Frank Castle in consideration of \$400.00 for a parcel of land in Lot numbered Four (4) in Block numbered Three hundred and fifty-five (355), in the town of Cheyenne, DAKOTA TERRITORY, at the corner of Ferguson (now Carey) and Eighteenth Streets. Executed by J. A. Borger and Mrs. Matilda Borger, and sworn to before J. N. Slaughter, a justice of the peace, on October 12, 1867. The site is now occupied by the Todd Jewelry Company.

**Miscellaneous Gifts**

Brock, Elmer, Buffalo, Wyoming.— Buffalo hump bone, an unusually large specimen found in cave west of Moyoworth, Johnson County, Wyoming.

Office of Secretary of State, by Secretary L. C. Hunt, Cheyenne, Wyoming.— One Wyoming 1941 automobile license plate.

Adamsky, Mrs. Ralph, Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Booklet, report of Cheyenne Board of Trade, July, 1887. Program folder of inauguration of Governor DeForest Richards, 1899.

Atherly, Clyde W., Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Spear point of quartzite, 4½" x 8" found on the Sweetwater River near the Oregon Trail in southern Fremont County; good specimen; used by Indians in attacking buffalo at close range; evidently made at the "Spanish Diggings" in east Central Wyoming.

Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming.— Notarial seal of M. A. Arnold, from Territorial Days. Full page clipping from Post-Standard, Syracuse, New York, July 25, 1920, concerning Miss Helen Bonham.

Thompson, Mrs., Ena Crain, 1602 Carey Lane, Silver Spring, Maryland.— Piece of wood 44" long from Sacajawea's grave, Fort Washakie; three Indian stone mauls and two Indian rubbing stones for tanning hides; two pieces petrified wood, all from the collection of Mrs. Thompson's father, the late Harry E. Crain, Cheyenne pioneer.

**Maps**

McCreery, Mrs. Alice Richards, 550 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California.— Map of the United States 24½" x 34", showing routes of principal explorers and early roads and highways, published, 1908.

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HEDDARD COLLECTION

DUPLICATE

# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

April, 1941

No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



"Bedlam," Quarters of the Single Officers and Social Center of Fort Laramie, at the Height of its Glory. Photo, probably about 1880.

Published Quarterly

by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Cheyenne, Wyoming



# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

April, 1941

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Published Quarterly

by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

GLADYS F. RILEY

State Librarian and Historian

Cheyenne, Wyoming



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The State Historical Board, the State Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the Annals of Wyoming

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The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The ANNALS OF WYOMING magazine is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the Annals should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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Views of "Old Bedlam," showing the building in its former sad state of disrepair in 1938, and its reconstructed appearance on August 15, 1941, occasion of the dedication of Fort Laramie as a National Monument.

# Old Bedlam

MOST ANCIENT OF ARMY BUILDINGS AT FORT  
LARAMIE HAS SEEN NEARLY A HUNDRED  
YEARS OF WYOMING HISTORY

By Jess H. Lombard\*

.....

On the low plateau between the wide and shallow Platte River and its turbulent branch, the Laramie, stands a two-storied frame building, Old Bedlam—the Queen of Fort Laramie. Scattered about are the ghostly remains of fifteen other buildings, dilapidated reminders of the once great military fort that guarded the old Oregon Trail.

Ninety-two years have passed since the curly, buffalo-grass sod of the wild, high plains of what is now southeastern Wyoming was broken for Bedlam's foundation. But Bedlam was not in existence in 1821 when the legendary character, Jaques LaRamee, an intrepid French trapper, gave his name in death to the river now known as the Laramie. Indians boasted of killing him and stuffing his body under the ice of a beaver pond in the river near Sybille creek. In 1834, Messrs. Robert Campbell and William Sublette of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company built a trading post-fort of cottonwood poles and mud near the junction of the Platte and LaRamee's Fork calling it Fort William. This was the progenitor of Fort Laramie. The very next year, 1835, the more powerful American Fur Company bought the fort and subsequently replaced it with a more substantial structure of adobe brick. This new fort was named Fort John at first but popular usage dubbed it Fort Laramie. It was approximately 132 feet wide by 169 feet long with a stockade reported to be four feet thick, twenty feet high, topped with sharpened stakes and with bastions on two opposite corners. This fort was laid out without regard to north or south, but rather to conform to the lay of the land. Although all vestiges of this old adobe stockade had disappeared by 1862, its influence is

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Jess H. Lombard was born in Cripple Creek, Colorado, September 11, 1905. Subsequent to his graduation from the forestry school of the Colorado State College at Fort Collins, he worked for a short time in the gold mines at Cripple Creek, Colorado, and the copper mines in Bisbee, Arizona. He obtained a position with the United States Forest Service in 1930 and was located at the Old Colorado National Forest until 1939, when he entered upon his duties with the National Park Service as Acting Custodian of Fort Laramie National Monument, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

still evident in that all except one of the buildings remaining were aligned with it. The new Guard House alone is square with the world.

Captain Fremont came to Fort Laramie in 1842 and reported favorably on it as a possible military outpost. Then, to properly protect the passage of increasing numbers of emigrants, on the California and Oregon Trails, the army purchased this adobe fort from the American Fur Company in 1849.

Work was started immediately on several buildings. An old report of the Engineering Department of the U. S. Army dated August, 1851, showed thirteen buildings including Bedlam besides the old adobe fort as already built by that date. Bedlam may have been the first army building constructed at Fort Laramie and, for that matter, the first in what is now Wyoming. Construction was begun in 1849, according to the annual report of that year by the Quartermaster General of the army. It was probably not finished until 1851. Some sources of information have it that the lumber for Old Bedlam was hauled overland from Atchison and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. It is undoubtedly true that some of the materials were brought from the East, but a great deal of the rough lumber in the building came from our own, locally grown, native pine. Some of it was whip-sawn, as evidenced by irregular saw marks, a process wherein the logs were hewed square and ripped into lumber with a large, pot-bellied, two-man rip saw. The square timbers were set on high saw horses with one man working underneath and one on top the stick. The underman, of course, got all the saw-dust.

John Hunton, the last Post Trader at Fort Laramie, reveals in his notes that Old Bedlam was designed by an officer from Virginia, Lt. Richard Garnett, and cost \$36,000 to build. The original building had two wings at the back, which were removed about 1882, leaving the structure much as it is today. It is of frame construction with adobe bricks stuffed in between the inner and outer walls for insulation or for protection from arrows and rifle balls. In the main part of the building there were eight large rooms, each with a fireplace. A lime-concrete addition with rooms for kitchen was built in the rear about the time the wings were removed.

In its hey-day, Bedlam was the center of the gay social whirl that enlivened the periods of inactivity for Fort Laramie's upper crust. In its wide halls and spacious rooms, the gallant moustached captains and lieutenants gracefully stepped to the latest tunes from the "States".

It was on Christmas Eve, 1866, while a gay ball was in full swing, that John "Portugee" Phillips staggered into Old Bedlam with the tragic news that Captain Fetterman and his command of eighty men had been completely wiped out.



Phillips had just completed one of the most daring and difficult rides in history—235 miles thorough bitter cold over trails infested with vengeful Indians, to bring a plea for help for the depleted garrison at Fort Phil Kearny. His splendid horse had literally run its life out for it dropped dead in front of Bedlam.

During the hot summer days when the plains shimmered in the brilliant sun, ladies with their parasols rested on Bedlam's vine clad porch and gazed across the cool green of the tree-fringed parade ground, or chatted with the lucky officers who happened to be off duty.

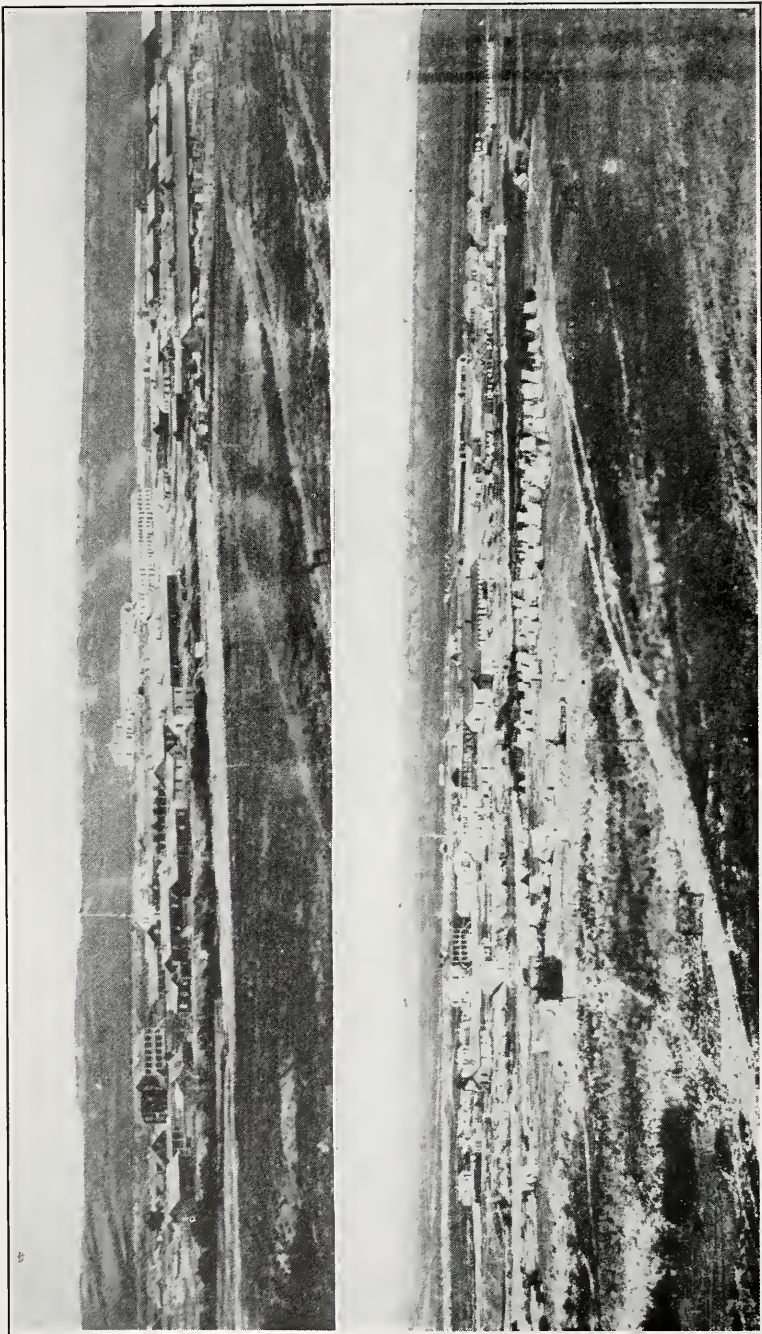
The Indians were finally subdued and were placed on reservations as wards of the White Father. The Union Pacific Railroad missed Fort Laramie by nearly a hundred miles to the South. By 1886 Fort Laramie had lost its military significance, and in 1890 the army lowered the Stars and Stripes for the last time, abandoning the fort to the mercy of the elements and private exploitation. Even in abandonment, Fort Laramie was able to serve the people of the vicinity, the buildings being sold at public auction for as little as \$2.50 in some cases. Many of them were razed and the lumber used for building homes up and down the valley even as far away as Scottsbluff, Nebraska. During the days the army held sway at Fort Laramie, there were excess of ninety buildings constructed, including those replaced from time to time, and there were over sixty in existence at one time.

After abandonment by the army in 1890, Old Bedlam was variously used as a school house, a stable and a pig pen. Its fireplace mantles were pried loose and hacked to pieces for souvenirs, the black walnut stair rails, newel posts and balusters removed to make souvenir furniture. The foundations of soft sandstone crumbled; the heavy timber sills settled and the porch posts fell out or were used as gate posts, letting the porch fall and hang at a drunken angle; the roof ridge sagged like a sway-backed horse.

Old John Hunton loved Fort Laramie and while he lived did his best to preserve what he could of it—Old Bedlam especially. When a visitor once remarked to him that Bedlam was a stable, Hunton's reply was, "Yes, this is now a stable but General Charles King immortalized it in one of his novels as Bedlam, a social gathering place for army officers where there were frequent highjinks with sparkling champagne that was hauled across the wilderness by ox-teams." Mr. Hunton was referring to the romantic novel, "Laramie, or the Queen of Bedlam", written in 1889 by Captain Charles King, a story that has truly made Bedlam famous.

There is some question as to the origin of the name "Bedlam". Some say it was called thus because it was constructed of sawed lumber known as "bedlom", while others claim it





Sweeping early-time views of Fort Laramie, with "Old Bedlam" seen prominently in the upper left-hand portion of the two respective scenes. Note the wing at back of the building. Top, in 1876; bottom, 1862.

was dubbed "Bedlam", in recognition of the noise generated by the high spirited young officers quartered in this bachelor hall.

For many years, public spirited citizens of Wyoming have felt the importance of Fort Laramie and wished they could do something to preserve it. This feeling was crystalized into action in 1937 when the State of Wyoming appropriated funds for the purchase of 214 acres at Fort Laramie. Title to the area was conveyed to the United States Government, and in July, 1938, President Roosevelt proclaimed it a National Monument. The National Park Service was assigned the job of protecting and preserving the remains of this historic old army post so that it might live, for the present generation, and for those to come, as a monument to the pioneers who opened up the West.

While Bedlam has seen better days, there is cause to hope that she has seen worse. Things are now looking up for her. Since 1939 stabilization and restoration work has been progressing steadily. Rotted and broken timbers have been measured, removed and replaced. Utmost care has been exercised to see that the pieces put back are duplicates of those removed, even to species of tree from which the lumber came. No modern wire nails have been used in this restoration; all are old-time, square-cut nails, even to those used for laying the special, native pine shingles. The larger timbers are pinned with oak dowels. The sag has been taken out of the ridge, the porch repaired, the roof restored and the foundations are now (1941) being repaired. Much has been done toward restoration of Old Bedlam, but much more remains to be accomplished before she will be completely restored to her former splendor.

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## DO YOU KNOW THAT ---

The first "stone" building in Laramie, Wyoming, was constructed in the fall of 1869 by Dawson Brothers, on South A street, at a cost of Five Thousand Dollars. (History and Directory of Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, by J. H. Triggs, published in 1875.)

The first meeting of the old Wyoming Historical Society was held at Cheyenne on July 30, 1895, "pursuant to a notice issued by Governor William A. Richards requesting the trustees to meet at the executive office for the purpose of more fully organizing said society and placing it on a working basis." The society had been created by an act of the Legislative Assembly of 1895. Governor Richards was appointed president, and Robert C. Morris, secretary of the board of trustees. Other board members present were John Slaughter, librarian, and B. B. Brooks. (Wyoming Historical Collections, by Robert C. Morris, 1897.)



**NANNIE CLAY STEELE**

Photo taken in about 1876.

Gown made in Virginia.



## THE LIFE OF NANNIE CLAY STEELE

In Which Southern Girl Becomes Western Ranch Woman

By Alice M. Shields

At the venerable age of ninety, Nannie Clay Steele, sitting erect and poised in her favorite low rocker, made a wholesome picture. Her room, accented with touches of bric-a-brac, old portraits, and a small marble-topped table, was faultlessly in order. It was January and the Wyoming sun sparkled through the west window of her Cheyenne home and complemented her warm personality.

Her customary gray linen dress, fashioned with a close fitting bodice and full skirt, was becoming to her tall well-rounded figure. She usually wore an apron tied around her waist, freshly ironed and with ample fullness to fall neatly to her feet.

She wore her shingled white hair parted in the center and combed smoothly behind her ears. Her face, lined by the years, bore that invisible mark which tells of a character both strong and gentle. Unassumingly she portrayed the transition from a sheltered Southern girl to that of a pioneer woman of the rigorous West.

Sixty-one years in Wyoming gave her authority for her claim to "pioneer". She had spent one, and almost, an additional one-half decades in the Territory before Wyoming was admitted to the Union, 1890.

Thomas Clay, her great-great-grandfather came from England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Clay's two sons were John and Charles. John was the father of Henry Clay, Statesman. Charles became an Episcopalian minister, and had three sons to bear his name, Junius, Odin, and Paul. The last named was Nannie Clay Steele's father. Her mother was Louise (Watkins) Clay, of Welsh blood.

When the Reverend Clay died he left great wealth and bequeathed a Virginia plantation to each of his sons.

Nannie Clay was born on January 20, 1847, on her father's plantation near Lynchburg, Virginia. She, the fifth child of her parents, with her four sisters and two brothers, was second cousin to Henry Clay.

Vividly and with a trace of sadness, Nannie Clay Steele recalled her childhood in the South. She told of her father owning a great many slaves who worked in his wheat, corn, and tobacco fields.

"None of the negros," she made clear, "worked on Sunday or after sundown—with one annual exception, and that," she emphasized, "was corn-shuckin' time."

She explained that her grandfather, being an Episcopalian minister, had made the rule in the Clay family that "no slave should work on Easter Monday, Good Friday, or Christmas Day."

She was delighted to accommodate by opening her old-fashioned trunk and to display her keepsakes which so readily told of her ancestors and their place in the early history of America. She picked up a bundle of letters, quite yellowed, and deftly selected two from the lot. "These", she said, "are letters written by Thomas Jefferson to my grandfather, Charles Clay. They were warm personal friends." The letters, one a hundred and twenty-two years old and the other a hundred and fifty-nine years old, were in Jefferson's own hand. Mrs. Steele explained that Jefferson had dipped his quill pen in ink made from dyes produced from his plantation in Virginia. The letters:

"Th J. to Chas Clay."

- (A) "I propose to set out tomorrow if ready, certainly next day, and therefore send the bearer for the Cape of my coat. I recollect an opportunity I shall have of sending for your spectacles by a gentleman going to Philadelphia. I charge myself therefore with that commission, perhaps by writing myself to McAlister he may pay more attention to the quality.

"The wild rye seed you gave me before was sowed in a place to which the sheep had access and they destroyed it, if you will give me some more I will sow it within an inclosure, as I am desirous of trying it. (the bearer brings the bag) health and happiness to you."

"Top. For. Nov. 12. 16. (1816)"

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"Parish of Saint Anne, Albermarle.

- (B) "The Reverend Charles Clay has been many years rector of this parish, and has been particularly known to me, during the whole course of that time his deportment has been exemplary as becomes a divine, and his attention to parochial duties unexceptionable. in the earliest days of the present contest with Great Britain while the clergy of the established church in general took the adverse side or kept aloof from the cause of their country he took a decided and active part with his country-men, and has continued to prove his whigism unequivocal and his attachment to the American cause to be sincere and zealous. As he has some thought of leaving us I feel myself obliged, in compliance with the common duty of bearing witness to the truth when called on, to give this testimonial of his merit, that it may not be altogether unknown to those with whom he may propose to take up his residence. Given under my hand this 15th day of August 1779."

"Th Jefferson."

Another valuable keepsake was a map on parchment of the United States of America, dated 1813. The seventeen states and some territories were vividly colored with ink cooked on the Clay plantation. All territory west of the Mississippi was shown as unexplored.



### Life on a Virginia Plantation

Memories of every day life on her father's plantation were awakened: "The darkies singing around their cabins after their day was done was the most charming music I have ever heard. The natural harmony of their voices—they usually sang Spirituals—accompanied by their banjos and 'tin-pans' was more nearly perfect than often is that of the trained voices and stringed instruments of the white people. The darkies had never been taught anything about music. They were born with a sense of it. They were happy too, and sang as they worked in the field.

"Yes, the women worked in the fields as well as the men unless the weather was bad. They stayed in then and worked at the carpet-loom, the spinning wheel, or knitted stockings and other clothing for us.

"The negroes lived in one-family cabins and led good clean lives, as a general thing. A doctor was hired by the year to watch their health. But mind you! The darkies were specialists. Each one had his own line of work. A cook couldn't sew; a seamstress couldn't cook. Neither of them could wash, and a washer woman wouldn't do anything else," she smiled.

"In the fall at corn-shuckin' time, the slaves from different plantations came with their masters, and the whole crop was shucked in one day and night. The next day would be a holiday. We would have a feast at the house and the darkies feasted in their cabins.

"O, yes, I had a 'nigger mammy'. Every one had a 'mammy'. Mine was Paulina. The regular 'mammy' for the rest of the children was Doshia. Doshia had a baby at the time I was born, so mother had to bring Paulina in for me.

"My mother died when I was seven. Charles, the oldest of the children, was sixteen, and the baby, William, was only three months old.

"We had a governess to care for us and to teach us our lessons, but I never ceased to miss my mother. The companionship of other girls with their mothers was always most interesting to me.

"Mother taught me to ride, and I learned farther back than I can remember. It was mother's custom to put her little ones back of her side-saddle, and to tell them to 'hold on, and not be afraid.' In that way we learned to ride while we were yet too young to be conscious of it." With a show of fire, Mrs. Steele added, "You have to sit firmly on your horse and balance your body to ride well!" Her erect posture and easy movements spoke with what grace she must have sat her horse when a young woman. Following the hounds in the fox hunt was one of her favorite pastimes, she revealed.

Three years after her mother's death, her father sold the plantation and with his seven children removed to Fredricksburg. There he enrolled his family in a private school.

"The school building was a small two-room structure, and was owned by the lady who, with her son, taught us. We were compelled to commit our lessons to memory. In addition to the regular course, I studied guitar, voice and French.

"After mother was gone, father was both parents to us and reared us as a man would. He taught us fire-arms; how to take care of them and how to shoot them. He said he taught us girls the use of fire-arms for our self-protection. He often posted a playing-card on a tree, and kept us shooting at it until we could hit it squarely. There was plenty of need for self-protection in my younger years. The 'poor-white-trash', as they were known, gave some of the negros bad ideas. Everyone around knew that the Clay girls were not timid and that they could take care of themselves; which probably is the reason we were never molested. I was often glad in later years that father taught me to use a gun.

"Yes, father tried to give us a well rounded education. He frequently took us to the theatre, and saw to it that his daughters saw only the best. We saw most of the Shakespearian plays, and I remember seeing the 'Wonder of the South', a 'nigger' known as 'Blind Tom'. He was from North Carolina. His mother, a slave, said the boy was blind from birth. It was said he could play any piece of music he had heard. I was not old enough to recognize some of his selections, but I remember he played 'Yankee Doodle' with one hand and at the same time played Fisher's 'Horn Pipe' with the other. It was Mrs. Oliver, his mistress, who discovered his talent.

"We were entertained with dances in our home and in the homes of friends. The steps in vogue then were the Virginia reel, the polka, and the schottische. The musicians, contrary to many stories, were always white people, and the music was by the piano and the violin."

After the Civil War broke out, and Virginia seceded, that state became the chief battle ground. A state of chaos existed. Paul Clay, with his children, left Fredricksburg and removed to Richmond, the Confederate Capitol.

"Father kept us in pretty close, and we didn't see anything which he thought we shouldn't see," Mrs. Steele explained. "I remember one day when my sister Sally and I were with father on the Capitol Square in Richmond. We met General Lee. Father introduced us to the General. He and Father had been friends when they attended the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

"Yes, I knew several distinguished military men of the South: 'Stonewall' Jackson; Jefferson Davis; Stephens; Beau-

regard; General Pickett, of the battle of Gettysburg, and others. Our family was very well acquainted with Jeff Davis. He 'learned' war on the Mexican Border, and was a 'hard' man. He, his wife and son, attended the same church with the Clays."

With a twinkle in her eye, Mrs. Steele told the following story:

"It was before the battle of Manassa; Jeff Davis was riding down the road on his handsome mount on his way to review the troops stationed on the other side of a bridge. He was hailed by a picket:

The Picket: "Halt, and give the counter sign before you pass!"

Jeff Davis: "I am Jefferson Davis!"

The Picket: "I'll be damned if you don't look more like a postage stamp, than any man I ever saw.—Get down off that horse, and mark time until the guard comes!"

"The picket then gave the proper signal for the guard, who came and was horrified at the sight of the Southern General whose likeness adorned the postage stamps of that day, marking time. He, of course, affected Jefferson Davis' release."

After a minute, Mrs. Steele said he had since come to the conclusion that the picket in question, knew Jeff all the time, and probably had a grudge to settle.

She then recalled that "Stonewall" Jackson met his death from an identical occurrence. The picket in the case of Stonewall Jackson, however, really did not know Jackson, and shot the General when he could not give the countersign. The picket was taken into custody to prevent his self-destruction, she said. She then hastened to explain that the picket was only obeying the orders of his Commander, and that "Stonewall" Jackson had evidently forgotten the countersign.

The Clay girls did not see everything that happened, but there was one highlight in Mrs. Steel's memory, and that was the most important event in the Civil War, namely: Lee's retreat from Richmond. "I was close enough," she said, "to distinguish the musketry from the cannon as the army marched through the valley about a mile from where I was safely perched in the top of a cherry tree."

She then told of an incident in which Ulysses Grant befriended a member of her family. "It was after the surrender at Appomattox when the Northern General was marching from Richmond to Lynchburg. He stopped at the home of my sister Edith, Mrs. Henry Thornton, whose husband was desperately ill. The General asked Edith for her permission to use her home as his headquarters. Owing to the feeling of all Southern people, Edith naturally refused the General's request, but she told him of her husband's condition. Grant then begged her to permit his physician to see her husband. This she was loath to do. But her husband heard the request, and bade her to

let the doctor in. The Doctor did everything he could to make Mr. Thornton comfortable, but told my sister her husband would last only a short while. Two weeks later Mr. Thornton died. Edith's son, Henry, was born shortly after the death of his father.

"Grant placed guards around all of the homes in the South to protect them from pillage," and with a grimace, she added, "two guards placed at our home went up stairs, locked the door, and went to bed. Fine guards!"

### **The Clays Migrate to Wyoming**

Post-war years brought many changes to the South and to the Clay family. Paul Clay, Mrs. Steele's father, had invested heavily in Confederate bonds, and lost drastically. Charles, the eldest of the Clay children, had served through the Civil War and like many young men of the South went "West" to start anew. He settled in Cheyenne and took up the bull-train freighting which was a highly profitable line of business. The youngest, William Clay, arrived in Cheyenne in 1875. He was connected with the cattle business in Wyoming for many years before his death. Sally Clay was the only one of Mrs. Steele's four sisters to settle in Wyoming. She married Alva W. Ayres of Douglas, Wyoming. Mr. and Mrs. Ayres made their home in Douglas, until her death in 1911.

The early death of Charles' wife left him with three motherless little girls. Charles persuaded his father and his sister, Nannie, to come to him. He built a new home in Cheyenne for them. The house is still standing, and is located at 114 West 21st Street.

Paul Clay with his daughter Nannie left Virginia and migrated to Wyoming in September, 1876. They arrived in Cheyenne on the Union Pacific, after a long and weary trip. The Southern girl was fascinated with the frontier town—outpost of the West. Her father, however, could not adapt himself to the western life where the cowboy was a king, and the vigilantes were the chief justices. He returned to his beloved Virginia, and died, after four years, on September, 9, 1880.

### **Nannie Clay and John Steele Wed**

Two years after her arrival in Cheyenne, Nannie Clay married a young Englishman, John Steele. Steele had come from England in 1887. Mrs. Steele, with a show of flash, said "I had ever promised myself never to acquire a mother-in-law. Therefore, the fact that John Steele was an orphan, was one of the reasons I decided to become his wife."



They were married in Cheyenne, at the Dyer Hotel, fashionable hostelry of the West, by the Reverend Claxhan on January 1, 1881. "There were a great many present at our wedding," she said.

Cheyenne was the nucleus of a vital pulsating population, made up of cattlemen grazing great herds on the range; of gold miners daring enough to brave the Indian country in their determination to reach the Black Hills where vast fortunes could be had for the digging; of army officers and men stationed at Fort Russell, (now Fort Francis E. Warren) three miles west of Cheyenne, under orders to quell the Indians; and of tradesmen who served townsmen and travelers, and who, in turn were piling up wealth the like of which they had never known.

John Steele was connected with the Swan Land and Cattle Company ranch, located near Chugwater, Wyoming. The newlyweds made their home on the ranch for two years, after which they took up a ranch of their own on Mule Creek, sixty miles northwest of Cheyenne.

"We worked hard, and saved toward enlarging our herd, and were very happy making our home. We had a great many cowboys in our employ. All was open range those days.

"No, I was never lonesome; I suppose I was too busy, and the time passed quickly. The summers were short, and there were 'round-ups' in the spring and 'round-ups' in the fall. Thousands and thousands of cattle grazed on the prairie then. There was branding time and shipping time. It took about three days to load. The cattle were herded to Cheyenne or to Laramie, and later, to Diamond for shipment. Shipping weeks we went to town. The winters were long and severe, and, as every ranch owner was accustomed to do, we bought our food in large quantities, for there was no way to get out after the winter had once set in."

She then gave an account of the blizzard of 1878. "We were having beautiful weather, when on March 6, the snow started to fall, and kept it up for three days and three nights. My brother and a Mr. Ramsey happened to have gone to help another rancher in building a dam, and of course, they were snowed in. My brother's children, my sister Sally, and I were alone. When we awakened the second morning we could not see thru the windows because of great snow drifts. The house was completely buried, with the exception, luckily, of the back door. The wind had whipped the snow away from the door and left it clear for us. It had also been considerate enough to leave the well and wood-pile clear. However, there was very little wood chopped. The children were crying; they were cold and hungry too. I couldn't cook without a fire. I had told them to stop crying and to go to bed. Just then I heard a thud against the door, and supposed it to be snow sliding against it. But to



our delight and relief of mind, it was my brother and Mr. Ramsey. They chopped the wood and we managed all right. It was June before the drifts were all gone.

### **Blizzard is Tragedy of 1896**

"The blizzard in which the three Johnson brothers were lost happened in April, 1896. They had left their home on a bright April day with a load of hogs which they were hauling to Cheyenne for market. It was evening, and they had almost reached the town, when they camped for the night. They unhitched their team and went to bed. The horses strayed away during the night, and the blizzard was raging before morning. One brother went out to look for the horses, and when he didn't return the second brother went out, and then the third followed. They were found many miles apart. Two of the bodies were located without much difficulty, but the third brother's body was found after two weeks' search, thirty miles away from camp. He had drifted with the storm. One of the boys had worked on our ranch and we were very fond of him.

"Blizzards were the cause for heavy cattle losses. The animals would become blinded with the snow and would drift with the storm until they were exhausted, or until they walked off a cliff and perished."

Asked what the people wore to keep warm, Mrs. Steele explained, "Well everyone wore red flannels," and added with disgust, "the people who don't wear anything now wouldn't last long in a blizzard.

"Yet, we had good times. We went to dances occasionally. It took two days for a dance which included going and coming. We rode horseback to the neighbors, about thirty miles, which took the first day. Then we danced all night. Hiram Davidson who now lives in Cheyenne was the fiddler." She smiled in recollection. "In the morning we had breakfast, mounted our horses, and rode back to our ranches.

"The cowboys? They were respectful gentlemen. There were not many white women in the country then, and the men respected us. They treated me like a queen on her throne. They made me the official custodian of their valuables—watches, jewelry, and money—when they went on the 'round-up.' I recall one occasion on which my husband had to go away on business. I went with him. We left the valuables in the trunk and left the latch-string out. Keys were unheard of in the range country. Locks made honest people steal anyway," she asserted, and to bear out her theory, she added: "We returned after a week, and found everything as we had left it."

She told of a dance at Fort Fetterman where a cowboy made a disrespectful remark about one of the girls present. Another

cowboy took up her defense, and they battled it out with their guns until they killed each other.

Neighboring ranches to the "HP" ranch, the brand registered by the Steeles, Mrs. Steele pointed out, were: the Nickell ranch, only two miles away; (Willie Nickell was killed there years later. His accused assailant, Tom Horn, after trial, was hanged); The Parker ranch was six miles distant; the Jordan ranch, nine miles away, and the Hi Kelly ranch, thirty miles from the Steele ranch.

Chugwater station, where the ranchers went for their mail, was twenty-five miles from the Steeles. "Chugwater", Mrs. Steele said she had been told, "received its name from the Indians because of the cliffs north of the town. The Indian hunters chased herds of buffalo to the edge of a cliff, and chugged them over to their death.

"Chugwater was the half-way stop between Cheyenne and Fort Laramie on the Cheyenne-to-Deadwood Stage route. The little stopping point consisted of a hotel, telegraph station, and saloon.

### **Tom Horn Nursed by Mrs. Steele**

"Many travelers, stranded or sick, stopped at the ranch homes for aid, and we never refused them shelter and care. One time, a man, who had been wounded came to us. We took him in and gave him the proper care until he was able to be on his way. He was most gentlemanly in his manner and had suffered a lot so we did what we could for him." She smiled, "Later, we heard that he was THE Tom Horn."

"Yes, there were schools where there were children. Classes were taught by teachers hired by the State. The school rooms were in the ranch homes. We had no children—therefore, no school."

Nannie Clay and John Steele had been married ten years in 1891, when the dreaded La Grippe struck the country. John fell ill, and died in a short while.

### **Outwits Cattle Rustlers**

Left alone on the ranch it was up to Mrs. Steele to get along as best she could until the estate could be settled. "The first thing I did was to set about to take stock of our herd, both cattle and horses. I hired two men and agreed to pay them two dollars and fifty cents for each head of cattle or horses that they would bring into my corral. I knew how many head we owned, and of course, all of the stock was branded with our HP. Each evening the men returned to their supper and bunks, which was in the agreement, but they brought no stock home. After this had carried on for several days I questioned them.

'Why don't you bring in some cattle?' I asked. 'Your horses are winded and I know you've been traveling far, what is the matter?' They told me they were unable to find any of my animals. So I decided to follow them the next day. I waited until they were out of sight of the house and then saddled my horse and started after them, and I kept behind them all day. I found out for myself what they were doing. The next day I went out again, and discovered a corral built in a draw. It was filled with cattle. I got down off my horse and examined their brands, and found that they were not my cattle. So then I knew what the men were up to and where they were hiding their catch. I opened the gate and let all the cattle go free. I then rode back to the house. That evening the men came in and I met them at the door—but didn't let them in. They didn't try the door; they knew I could use firearms as well as they could, and they didn't know whether I was armed or not. I told them to get off the ranch and not to ever let me see them about again. They didn't tarry long. Rustlers!

"I then made up my mind to round-up the stock myself." To picture the lone woman mounted on her side-saddle, scouring the prairie range day after day, until she had found all of her herd, is to realize her dauntless courage. But she said, "I had no trouble. I had a good 'cattle' horse and we accomplished the task."

Mrs. Steele's brother, William Clay, bought her ranch, and she stayed on with him for about six years. In 1896 she returned to Cheyenne, and took up sewing. She followed that work for thirty-four years, when she retired.

She witnessed the growing of Cheyenne. The State Capitol building and the Colorado Southern Railroad shops are amongst the outstanding structures that she recalled seeing in the building. Churches at that time were: Catholic; Congregational; Methodist; Presbyterian and Episcopalian, the church to which Mrs. Steele belonged. The Reverend Tillotson was the first minister of her church.

"There was one school", she said; "Mr. Stark was the principal in charge. I happened to be present at the first graduating exercises, in 1877. There were only two in the class, Ella Hanna and Frankie Logan. The flowers for the girls' graduation were brought up from Denver.

"The Cheyenne Opera House booked some of the best shows, including some Shakespearian plays."

Mrs. Steele was one of the first women to vote, and was acquainted with Mrs. Morris, originator of the woman's vote in Wyoming. She gave her opinion of "Woman Suffrage" in the following statement: "It is a good thing, I believe, for women

to take an interest in politics, but I do not think they should neglect their home life for politics."

**AUTHOR'S NOTE**—This story of Mrs. Steele's life was written from notes made during an interview of several visits.

Mrs. Steele possessed a rare memory, as well as a full portion of humor and tolerance; all of these gifts made her a charming woman.

January 20, 1940, marked the ninety-third and final birthday celebration for Mrs. Steele. She was ill at the time and was unable to take her place at the table. Death came ten days later, on January 30, 1940, and burial rites were conducted by the Reverend Mr. C. A. Bennett, Episcopal rector, on February 1, 1940. Interment was made in Lakeview Cemetery, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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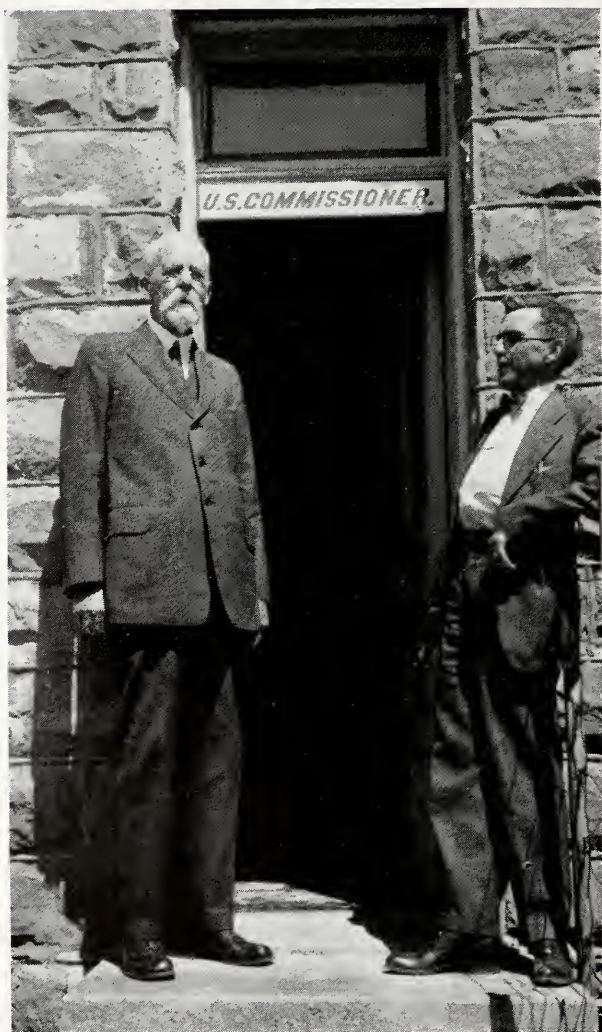
## DO YOU KNOW THAT---

The first ranch in the county, "if not in the state, where a foundation for a claim house was laid and for which a patent from the government was obtained," was that of Judge W. L. Kuykendall, as related in his book, "Frontier Days," published in 1917. "It is where Uncle Sam has located his dry farming experiment station, a mile or two east of Cheyenne."

First authorization for a "Great Seal of State" for Wyoming was an act passed at the first session of the State Legislature, approved on January 10, 1891. From several designs submitted, the one presented by Hugo E. Buechner, representative from Laramie County, was selected, as recorded by Bartlett in his History of Wyoming, page 221. The first seal was completed and turned over to the state about March 1, 1891, but was the subject of considerable uproar from the press and others because "Victory," the central figure of the design, was in the nude. At the second Legislature, Governor John E. Osborne, in his message, recommended a slight change, with the result that the figure was "draped in classic robes." The Legislature took further advantage of its opportunity by creating practically a new seal.

The first hotel in the world to be lighted with an electric lamp in every room was the old Inter-Ocean hotel, Cheyenne, Wyoming, of which John Chase was the proprietor, according to Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXV, pg. 801. He came to Cheyenne from Denver, Colorado, in 1873, having come to that city from Atchison, Kansas, in 1863. He was born in New York in 1842.





The Two United States Commissioners Who Have Served Yellowstone National Park from 1894 to the Present Time (1941)—John W. Meldrum and T. Paul Wilcox—Both of Wyoming. Picture taken July 30, 1930.

**JOHN W. MELDRUM****By Joseph Joffe**

Chapter V Continued

**Appointed Chief Clerk to Secretary of State**

Getting back to 1890 the Judge informed me that he was Secretary of State when Wyoming was admitted into the Union and from then until the first election, that the Proclamation of Election was dated July 15, 1890, that the election was held September 11, 1890, but that those elected didn't take office until January 1, 1891. He was Secretary until January 1, 1891, when Amos W. Barber assumed the duties of Secretary of State. Speaking of this time the Judge said:

"I absolutely refused to accept the nomination of Secretary of State. My friend Gramm, \* \* \*, was in the convention and was candidate for State Treasurer in the first election, I told Gramm it would never do for two to be nominated from Albany County. I told him he wanted the treasurership. He told me that that was all right, there wouldn't be any trouble about that, but I felt differently about it. I told him to get the nomination, that I really didn't want the Secretary of State nomination anyhow. It only paid two thousand dollars a year and the expense would take all the salary to keep up one's end of the social business. I knew what I was doing. Barber was elected Secretary of State. The Legislature met and they elected Warren as the United States Senator. Warren had been elected Governor. He was Governor under appointment of the President when the territory was admitted, when he was elected the first Governor. The Legislature met and elected Warren as Senator and that left Barber as Governor.

"So Barber came to me and said he wasn't going to qualify. He was a prominent physician and had a splendid practice. He said that he couldn't afford to take the position. Well, I urged him to qualify and he did. The Legislature didn't make any provision for a Deputy Secretary of State. They passed a law giving the Secretary of State authority to appoint a chief clerk who could assume all the duties of the office of Secretary of State in the absence of the Secretary. Barber appointed me as Chief Clerk. He told me that if the salary wasn't sufficient to pay me he would pay me out of his own pocket if I would stay there. So I stayed on as Chief Clerk and really managed the Secretary's office. He never came near it. He was Acting Governor then. Well, soon after that, on came the cattle war

in Johnson County. We don't pay much attention to those things when they are in some other state but when they come home to your own bailiwick it is different. Well, we will just pass over that for the present.

### **Compiles "Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention."**

"During my service there as Chief Clerk I had absolute charge of the Secretary's office. I compiled a book while I was Chief Clerk, from the worst manuscript you ever looked at. It is called: 'Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, Wyoming, 1889.' Printed in 1893. (Judge has a copy of the book, which he showed to me). Compiled it all with one clerk. Had to copy it from the stenographer's report of the Constitutional Convention.

### **Organized First State Land Board**

"I organized the first State Land Board while I was Chief Clerk. The Legislature didn't make any appropriation to establish a land board for the state. We had an old territorial land board, of which I was a member, as Secretary. I went to Governor Barber and said: 'Governor, we must establish a land board.' All the people who had leases under the old territorial regime were clamoring for new leases under the state and they were besieging us every day. Barber told me I could do what I wanted to about it. So, I went to Denver, at my own expense, spent a week there in the Colorado Land Office studying up their maps and records. I came back, and there was a young lawyer there by the name of Clark. I said to Clark: 'Do you want to help me out to the extent of two or three hundred dollars service and take your chances on getting your pay?' He said he would. So I employed Clark and we got together and we got some forms drawn up, some forms for maps, had them printed, and, by golly, we established the Land Office.

#### **Chapter VI**

### **Appointed Park Commissioner While Studying Law**

"While I was Clerk of the Court I read law under the tutelage of different judges, and it was a sort of a school, every day listening to the best lawyers in the country. I just absorbed it all and that is where I got my legal knowledge. I was reading law, a kind of resume of the whole business, when I was appointed Commissioner of Yellowstone Park. I was reading law under the very man who appointed me. I steered him into

court more than once when he was an attorney. I said to him one day, 'Judge, you know my capabilities. I would like to go to Yellowstone Park,' and I got the appointment. That's all there was about my appointment. So I came to the Yellowstone Park. The Judge was John A. Riner, U. S. District Judge, acting as a Circuit Court Judge. I was appointed on June 20, 1894, as United States Commissioner of the Circuit Court.

"A rather marked coincidence happened in connection with my appointment. There was a Judge of the Circuit Court, Judge Caldwell, whom I knew when he was at Little Rock. Ultimately he was United States District Judge for the District of Arkansas, and sat on the bench when I was made Commissioner of the Yellowstone Park."

Judge Meldrum showed me his original certificate of appointment as U. S. Commissioner for Yellowstone Park, from which the following is quoted:

"Pursuant to the authority of an Act of Congress, entitled, 'An Act to Protect Birds and Animals of Yellowstone National Park and to punish crimes in said park, and for other purposes', approved May 7, 1893.

"It is ordered by the Court that John W. Meldrum of Albany County, Wyoming, be and he is hereby appointed Commissioner of the Circuit Court for the District of Wyoming, with jurisdiction and powers authorized in said Act of Congress.

"It is further ordered that said Commissioner shall reside in the Fort Yellowstone National Park.

"And it is further ordered that before said Commissioner shall enter upon the duties of his office he shall take and subscribe the oath required by law and file the same with the clerk of this court.

Approved June 20, 1894.

(Sgd.) JOHN A. RINER, JUDGE

(Sgd.) Louis Kirk, Clerk."

Asked about his knowledge of the law, Judge Meldrum said:

"I never had to pass the bar examination. I was just preparing for the law at the time I was appointed Commissioner of the Yellowstone. I didn't like the law. I saw so much wrangling and contention and hair-pulling between the lawyers and court that I really didn't like it, but I said this was the only thing I could do. The time had come when I had to do something else and I was reading law then. I was reading under Judge Riner at the time. He appointed me up here. While I never did pass the bar examination I knew the Statutes of Wyoming from 'a to izzard' and I knew the general practice a darn sight better than a lot of lawyers did."

### Forty Years in the Yellowstone

While Judge Meldrum was appointed June 20, 1894, he did not reach the park until July of that year and he remained in the position of United States Commissioner of the Wonder-



land until June 30, 1935, when he resigned because of his advanced years, being ninety-one years old at the time. His years in the Yellowstone were eventful and happy ones although during his last few years he complained of his arms bothering him, due, he thought, to a fall which he experienced while riding in a street-car in Los Angeles a few years before. For many years he was authorized to use a rubber stamp for his signature as he was then unable to write because of the condition of his right arm and hand but he guarded this stamp as he did his life and took particular pains whenever he affixed it to a legal document.

### **The Trip to the Yellowstone**

Relating incidents of his Yellowstone days the Judge said: "I didn't get to the park until July, 1894, although appointed on June 20. It was the year of the big railroad strike. At every station that I passed going from Cheyenne to Salt Lake, Utah, there was a company of soldiers. They were seeing that nobody interdered with the trains, you know. Well, I got to Salt Lake and went over to see the attorney for the road from Salt Lake to Butte, Montana. It seems to me that there was a part of that road under some other directorship than the Oregon Short Line. The Oregon Short Line didn't strike Salt Lake; it left the main line at Green River and went up through Pocatello, Idaho, to Portland, Oregon. Anyway, the roads were all tied up. This attorney for the road, an old Wyoming lawyer whom I knew, when I asked him about getting to Butte, told me that he couldn't tell me when I could get into Butte, that they weren't going to attempt to move a train until they got troops enough to make those fellows get out of the way. He told me that if I wanted to get to the Yellowstone he would advise my going overland. He told me I could get up as far as Beaver Canyon and that there was a stage line from there into the park. So I went to Beaver Canyon. The stage line, what they called a stage line, was owned by Bassett Brothers.

"So I went to the office of Bassett Brothers and made arrangements to come to the park. They had an old pair of horses, old patched-up harness and a spring wagon. We started out. I had a trunk, box of books, typewriter and other stuff and in addition to these there were several trunks belonging to people who had preceded me into the park a day or two before. I was the only passenger on the coach. Mrs. Meldrum didn't come up to the park until later, after the house was built. Of all the mosquitoes and flies I ever saw, they accompanied this wagon on that trip.

"There was a station about ten miles out of West Yellowstone called Dwellie. Mr. Dwellie had a very fine road house, the building were fine and the accommodations first-class. We

were three days getting from Beaver Canyon to the Fountain Hotel. I spent my first night in the park at the Fountain Hotel. When we got to Dwellies the fellow driving said he would have to have four horses from there on because the road was pretty rough. Well, I asked him if he had the horses and he said he did, so he went out and found two old horses and harness, and that harness was tied up with strings and ropes. He had a whip, one of those old long stock whips, with a little lash, but he couldn't reach the leaders. So I got a pole and walked on the ground and encouraged the leaders going up hill.

"Then we struck a piece of corduroy road and we were going along and down went the whole works. The king-pin broke, the front wheels followed the horses out and the rest of it stayed. I asked the driver what he was going to do. He didn't seem to have the sense of a child. Well, I told him what we would have to do. I showed him how to pry the wagon up. We got it up, put some stones to block up the wagon. I asked him if he had a bolt of any kind in the wagon. He said he believed there was a bolt in the wagon. Well, I told him to find it. We had to unload the whole business. We finally found it. It was an ordinary half inch bolt. The original king-bolt was three times as large in diameter. Anyway, we put the bolt in and it was just long enough to barely reach. So we started on. I told him that he would have to drive carefully or we would have a recurrence of the trouble. So we drove along.

"We got in sight of the Fountain Hotel. There was a blacksmith shop a mile or so away from the hotel. The man stopped at the blacksmith shop to have the wagon fixed. I told him to have it fixed and I would walk on to the hotel. I was so bitten up with mosquitoes and flies I was just in misery. I went in and got a bath and cleaned up. About the time I was finished a coach drove up and in came two women. I took a look at them. I thought I knew them. They were so bitten up by mosquitoes I had to take a second look at them. One of them was the present Senator Carey's mother; the other was a Mrs. Helmar of Cheyenne. It was their baggage that was in the wagon I was riding in. They had come in the day before. So they hopped out of the coach and a man in civilian clothes got out, dusty, and he had a little old gray hat about as big as a tea-cup on his head. He blew in through the door and the ladies stopped to talk with me. I asked them who he was. They said he was Captain Anderson, Superintendent of the Park. So, of course, I knew who he was. I had never seen him and he had never seen me but he knew I was coming. So at the first opportunity I went up to him and introduced myself. He said right off the bat: 'Good to see you, let's have a drink!' So, we went in and had a drink. Every hotel had a barroom in those days. We had dinner and they struck out the next morning for

Mammoth. I resumed with my conveyance and got down as far as Norris. Larry Mathews kept the station there. The superintendent of transportation for the Yellow Line happened to be there. He had a good team and a light buggy. He asked me to ride with him, he was going to Mammoth. I saw my man and told him I was going on with Mr. Humphrey, the superintendent of transportation. I told him he could find me when he got to Mammoth.

### **Arrival at Mammoth**

"As I drove in to the Mammoth Hotel I can just see who was sitting there on the porch. Jack Haynes' father, F. Jay Haynes, was one of them. Matt Stewart was the head porter. M. W. Downey was the auditor. The hotels were owned by the Northern Pacific road. That was my introduction to Mammoth. I looked it over, and with the mosquitoes I believe if the railroad had been open I would have taken the train the next morning and gone back to Wyoming. It didn't look like it was a fit place to live in.

"I went over and talked with the manager of the hotel; he was the manager of all the hotels. I told him I had to have a place to stop. I told him what I wanted, a room large enough to use for an office and a place to sleep. I told him that if he would furnish me such accommodations and not charge me more than the Government pays me, all in all, I would stop with him. He said he guessed he could make arrangements that would be satisfactory. So, I had that big room right on the first floor. There was a bay window in it then; there was a tower on the hotel. I could just open the window off the porch and walk right into my quarters. On the other side of the hall was the barroom. There was music every night until midnight in that barroom. The chief trumpeter in there would always be Captain Anderson. That is the way I put in the first summer here.

### **Building a Residence**

"Provisions had been made to erect my house, plans had been drawn, sent to Washington, approved, and returned to the Superintendent of the Park. He advertised for bids. Nobody bid on account of the strike, they couldn't get any material in here. So they had to re-advertise after I got here. Finally they got the railroad trouble settled and we never got started with the work until the last of August, or early part of September.

"The plans had been drawn by a private soldier down here and when they came back and started the building, Anderson made this soldier superintendent of the work. He had drawn the plans and had the specifications and knew how it ought to be done. So the soldier became the superintendent

on the job. Well, knowing something about building myself I used to just loat around and see what they were doing. Anderson told me to look over the plans and specifications. I stayed around until they got the foundation in and they were just putting in the wall along those windows there. I told the man that he was not building that wall according to specifications. He just kind of looked at me. I told him that I expected to occupy this building when it is completed and I was going to try to have it built according to specifications. Well, he looked at me as if to say 'Who the devil are you, I'm doing this!' When this scldier would come around to inspect they would fill him up with beer and he didn't know whether they were putting the stones upside down or not. I told Captain Anderson they were not putting the building up according to specifications. Anderson was a very profane man. It probably wouldn't pay to put down what he said. But he did tell me what to do. I told him if he would give me authority to erect the building I would see that it ws done right. He told me to go ahead. In the meantime he wrote to Washington. The letter was referred to Senator Joseph M. Carey, the present Senator's (Robert D.) father. The letter was put up to Senator Carey, and he said he knew me and that I was thoroughly competent to superintendent the erection of that building. So I received a letter from Washington, through Anderson, to put me in charge of the building, and from that time on I was the real boss. Well, it was just a fight the whole summer. They were building that outside door, laying up the rock, and I went out and said to the man who had charge that it was not according to specifications. He told me that he couldn't afford to put the building up according to specifications, they were losing money every day. He wasn't the contractor, he was just the foreman. I told him it had to be built according to specifications. I told him that if he didn't tear that out and build it up according to specifications he could just quit, that they would never get a dollar tor what they did here. So they all quit. They went to the Cottage, boozed up for two or three days, and then went back to work. And that is the way it went. I told the foreman that there were a lot of things they were doing which were not according to specifications, and that he knew it, but that they were slight and didn't make much difference, but I didn't want him to think for a minute I was overlooking them."

All of the foregoing which I obtained from Judge Meldrum was secured during the interviews in November and December, 1933. The last interview I had with him was on October 23, 1934, and on this occasion he was rather hesitant at first about talking as he said he had not been feeling well, that his left arm, which had been his good arm, had been bothering him for several weeks then, and he was not able to lift either hand over his head. This had made him feel quite miserable.



## Chapter VII

**The 1897 Hold-Up**

I told the Judge I was anxious to get several of his stories about his park life, as I had not secured much regarding his Yellowstone days, and also regarding his acquaintance with Bill Nye, the famous humorist, whom the Judge knew very well. I asked him about some of the interesting cases which he had handled and he told me he had them all recorded in several books. He said one of the most interesting cases was the hold-up of 1897, about four miles west of Canyon, in which "Little Gus" and "Morphine Charley" took part. He told me he had a written account of this trial and that he would give me a copy, which he did. He stated that this was the case in which Lieutenant Elmer Lindsley, brother of Chester A. Lindsley, took part and proved to be the best witness he had ever had. (As a coincidence in passing, Chester A. Lindsley arrived in the park and went to work for the Government in 1894, the same year Judge Meldrum came to the park, and they both left the Government service on June 30, 1935.) Judge Meldrum further stated that this hold-up was really the first big hold-up in the park, that there had been two or three others but that this was the first important one. Because of its importance among Yellowstone cases tried before the Judge as United States Commissioner, and due to the impression it made upon him I am relating it as taken from the records prepared by him. It follows:

"The title of this case was United States vs. Gus Smitzer, alias Little Gus; and George Reeb, alias Morphine Charley.

"Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the morning of August 14, 1897, a message was received at the office of Colonel Young, then the Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, from Norris Basin, stating that all the coaches, together with one government ambulance that left the Canyon Hotel that morning, and due at Mammoth Hot Springs in the afternoon, were held up by robbers about four miles west of the Canyon Hotel. There were four or five coaches and one government ambulance. The ambulance was occupied by Colonel Hawkins, Dr. Guy M. Godfrey, and I think two other Army officers. I do not remember their names.

"The description of the robbers was, that one was a tall man; that the other was a short man; that one of them spoke with a German accent; that one of them carried a gun in a sling over his back, and revolver in his hand; that the other one carried a repeating rifle in his hands and had a white handled pistol in a wide leather belt.

"On the arrival of the coaches at Mammoth Hot Springs, further particulars were obtained to the effect that the pistol or revolver used by one of the robbers had a piece of fair or

russet leather around the muzzle—sewed around the muzzle; that both men had their faces and hands blackened; that they wore masks and had their feet wrapped with gunny sacks which extended up their legs to the bottoms of their coats.

"At the time of the holdup, after robbing the first coach, the driver was instructed to drive ahead a hundred yards and stop until they notified him to proceed, which they would do by firing three shots; that if he moved before they gave him that signal they would shoot his leaders. When they had finished their work they did fire three shots.

"Each and every passenger was questioned as to what was taken from them and a memorandum made. The sum taken was \$630.00.

"Between the time of the arrival of the coaches at Mammoth Hot Springs and the following morning, Colonel Young sent officers and scouts to every road leading out of the Park. Deputy U. S. Marshal Morrison was sent to the scene of the hold-up. Lieutenant Lindsley and Frank Scott went out on the road towards Yancey's. Ed Howell, who had been a notorious poacher in the Park, was sent in another direction.

"Morrison reported that he could find no tracks, whatever, leading in any direction from the scene of the holdup, except there were places where the grass was tall, which would indicate that something had traveled over it. It might have been men; it might have been bears. There were, however, no signs of human footprints.

"The day following the holdup, Sunday, it was reported from Gardiner that two men, leading their horses, had passed through the horse camp of Charles B. Scott at about two o'clock that morning; that the man on night herd, David Hudson, approached them; that the first man he met turned out of the trail and declined to speak; that when within thirty or forty yards of the second man Judson asked him if he had seen any loose horses, whereupon he shied out of the trail and moved away. Hudson followed repeating his question about the loose horses. The man answered by saying that he had not seen any loose horses and told Hudson to go about his business; that he had no time to talk to him. The horses led by these men were dark bay or brown in color; and cowboy saddles with guns attached. The man in the rear was the shorter of the two and wore a belt with a six-shooter therein. Hudson saw these men go up to the gate of Forsyth's ranch. This camp was about two miles north of Gardiner.

"Upon receipt of this report, W. W. Humphery, who was then superintendent of the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, and some soldiers went to Scott's camp and made inquiry about these men and followed their trail to their camp, which was about four miles northwest from Gardiner. As the

men in camp were Little Gus and Morphine Charley, whom everybody in the vicinity knew, no suspicion was directed toward them. Upon being asked what they were doing there, they said they had been out prospecting.

"While all the parties sent out by Colonel Young had been making diligent search for a trail, nothing was discovered until Thursday, August 19, when Lieutenant Lindsley and Frank Scott struck a trail of two shod horses on the slopes of Observation Peak leading into the Park. The trail they followed in a southerly direction to within one mile north of Grebe Lake where they found a camp that had evidently been occupied for a period of several days, and among other things found was a piece of russet grained leather, two pistol shells of government make, Frankfort Arsenal, calibre 38, one Winchester rifle shell, 30-30, one empty milk can, the label of which read 'St. Charles Cream.' The two pistol cartridges were inside of this can and all were secreted in a squirrel hole at the base of a tree and covered with pine cones. The piece of leather, which they at once concluded was the one that had been around the muzzle of the pistol used in the holdup, had been cut from the pistol, leaving intact the seam that had been sewed when it was put on. They also found in that camp a piece of saddle-blanket which had evidently been used in cleaning fire arms, as it was more or less greasy and smelled of powder. Retracing their steps they found another trail paralleling the one on which they went in—the same horse tracks going in an opposite direction, namely, out of the Park. They now minutely examined the tracks on the trail going in and that going out and became satisfied that the same two horses had made the two trails, as one horse had a long slim foot and the other a very round foot. This trail they followed for a distance of 15 or 18 miles until within a half mile of the wagon road leading from Mammoth Hot Springs to Yancey's; here the transportation company had a herd of loose horses, and of course, obliterated the trail. They abandoned it at that point and came into the post.

"About the 25th of the month Ed Howell reported that he met Little Gus and Morphine Charley at Reese creek, between Gardiner and Horr. Having been well acquainted with both for a number of years, he commenced discussing the matter of the holdup with them. He was wearing a pair of government leggings which they looked at in a suspicious way and asked him if he was working for the government. He said he was and asked them where they had been and where they were going. They replied that they had been out prospecting and that they were then going to an old camp of theirs up above Aldridge. At the same time he noticed that the shoes had been very recently pulled off their horses and had asked them why they had pulled off the shoes, to which they made some evasive reply. Not wanting them to think that he suspected them, he engaged

them to hunt up some loose horses he had lost which he believed had gone in the direction of the camp they were then going to. He immediately reported to Colonel Young's office, and Lieutenant Lindsley and Scott having reported about the finding of the cartridges, Howell at once remarked: "I can tell you who held up the coaches. It was Little Gus and Morphine Charley. I know where they procured those government cartridges."

"A complaint was then entered, charging them with the crime and a warrant was issued to the marshal. He was, however, directed not to make the arrest unless the defendants should attempt to leave the country, but to shadow them.

"In the meantime Lieutenant Lindsley and Scott went back to the camp near Grebe Lake and made further investigation. They found where the occupants of the camp had had their bed on a pile of pine boughs. They took these boughs one by one, laid them aside, and among the leaves at the bottom they found a ten cent piece and two fishing rod plugs. They again inspected the trail leading out of the park above referred to, and at some little distance from said trail they found a part of a gun cover which had evidently been taken off the gun in a hurry as it was split open with a knife.

"Howell had discovered that Morphine Charley had been at the store of W. A. Hall in Cinnabar two days prior to the holdup, and that he had purchased two cans of St. Charles Cream and some other articles; that he did not pay for them, saying that he was broke and as Mr. Hall had frequently trusted him for like articles, the sale was charged on the books by one of his clerks. Howell also discovered that subsequent to the holdup Morphine Charley had sent a letter containing an express money order from the station at Horr to the A. L. Babcock Company of Billings, such money order being for the sum of \$20.00.

With this rather meager evidence the Park authorities concluded to direct the arrest of these men, which occurred on August 30th. They were found in their camp at the point where they previously told Howell they were going. The arrest was made by Deputy Marshal Morrison, accompanied by Frank Scott, Ed Howell and one other person.

"At the time of the arrest Reeb had a white handled pistol, calibre 38, and a fair or russet leather cartridge belt, in which belt were several empty shells and five or six cartridges, which being compared with the shells found by Lindsley and Scott in the camp near Grebe Lake, it was at once concluded that they were identical. Smitzer has a 30-30 Winchester rifle. They were taken to Ft. Yellowstone and confined in the guard-house. Reeb, who was an inveterate morphine fiend, after being confined for a couple of days was in a state of collapse.



They both protested their innocence, claiming all the time that they had been prospecting in the vicinity of their camp on Trail Creek.

"At the time of their preliminary hearing before the Park Commissioner, which occurred on September 10, they brought six or seven witnesses from Aldridge who swore positively that Reeb was in Aldridge the night before the holdup; that he was there during the day preceding the holdup; that he was questioned by the road supervisor about paying his road tax. The secretary of the union swore positively that Reeb paid his dues to the lodge the night preceding the holdup, and that he was there until after eleven o'clock. The shells found in the camp and those found in the cartridge belt which Reeb wore at the time of his arrest being critically examined, it was discovered that the indenture made in the base of the shells by the firing pin of the revolver were of an irregular shape. An examination of the firing pin of the revolver evidenced that it had been filed. It was further discovered that the end of this cartridge belt had been cut off and sewed over with a thread very much coarser than that used in the rest of the belt. Comparing the piece of leather found in the camp near Grebe Lake with the belt it was discovered that the same stamping which followed both outer edges of the belt was on the outer edges of this piece of leather; that the thread used in sewing the piece of leather onto the pistol and the thread used in sewing over the end of the belt, were identical.

"During the hearing before the Commissioner the evidence of passengers and drivers was so conflicting that it was impossible to identify either man from the description given. One witness said the taller man was very slender, had narrow shoulders and would weigh about 140 pounds. Another witness said that he had medium shoulders, was a little stooped and would weigh about 175 pounds. One witness said that he wore a light soft hat; another said that he wore a dark slouch hat; another said that he wore a grey felt cap; another that he wore a jersey cap. One witness said that he wore a dirty coat; another that he wore a linen duster; another that he wore an ordinary cloth coat. One witness said his mask was made of a gunny sack; another that it was made of a flour sack; another that it was made of a checked stable jacket; another that it was made of light cloth. One witness said that he wore blue overalls and carried a Winchester in his hands, and another gun in a sling across his shoulder. One witness said he had a six-shooter in his hand and another in his belt. One witness said he had blue eyes and was quite young. One witness said that the shorter man was heavy set and weighed about 160 pounds and that he had brown eyes. Another witness said that he had blue eyes; another that he had gray eyes. One said he wore a linen duster with a gunny

sack over his shoulders and reaching nearly to his knees. Another said that he did not wear a coat but that he had on a light colored shirt. Another said that he wore a short linen duster and carried a sack of some kind fastened to his clothing in which he deposited the money taken from the passengers. One witness said he wore a dark slouch hat; another that he wore a light skull cap; another that he wore a brown knit cap; another that he wore blue overalls and a dark buttoned up coat. One witness said he carried a gun in a sling and a repeating rifle in his hands. One witness said that he had a revolver in one hand and another in his belt, that the belt was a wide one, that the revolver in the belt had a white handle, and that he had a heavy coarse voice; and one witness said that he saw a scar on his left hand near the base of his thumb. They all agreed, however, that one of the robbers carried a pistol with a piece of leather around the muzzle. Some said it was light leather; some said it was russet leather; some said it was red leather. One of the drivers, Pierstorff, testified most positively that he ate dinner at the Canyon Hotel with these two men the night before the holdup about half past six; that he was late in getting in; that the dining room was empty when he went in for his dinner, and that just after he was seated these two men came in and sat down directly opposite him at the table.

"With this testimony before the Commissioner he bound them over to the U. S. Court at Cheyenne. Just as the prisoners were being taken from the presence of the Commissioner, after his decision in the case, a Mr. Van Blaricon, a newspaper reporter who had been spending some time in the Park, remarked that he saw those men at the Canyon Hotel the night before the holdup.

"The trial before the District Court at Cheyenne was not reached until the following May. In the meantime the Park authorities had been collecting additional evidence. One of the victims of the holdup, Mr. D. M. Massie of Chillicothe, Ohio, had reported that in his purse taken by the robbers were two fishing rod plugs. As these were the only articles taken that could be identified, Mr. Massie and his wife were the only coach passengers summoned as witnesses before said court.

"In presenting the case to the jury the prosecution established, in substance the following facts:

"First, by Robert Duff, James Hawk, Charles Fox and L. S. Pierstorff, drivers of vehicles when the robbery was committed, at the time and place alleged in the indictment, August 14, 1897, in the Yellowstone National Park, that the robbers, a tall man and a short man, were completely disguised by having their hands and faces blackened and wearing masks, and their feet and legs covered with gunny sacks; that one of them carried a repeating rifle in his hands and wore a light colored

leather belt, in which was a revolver; that the other carried a gun in a sling and had a revolver in his hand, around the muzzle of which was a piece of light colored leather; that the gun in the sling was covered with some kind of cloth; that the driver on the leading coach was ordered by one of the robbers to remain at a certain point in the road under penalty of having his horses shot until he should receive a signal to drive on, which signal would be the firing of three shots; that three shots were fired when the robbers were ready for the coaches to move on; that such robbery took place about four miles west of the Canyon Hotel, and that the robbers immediately disappeared thereafter in the timber.

"Second, by Lieutenant Elmer Lindsley and Frank Scott, that on August 19, they discovered a trail of two shod horses on the slopes of Observation Peak leading into the Park, which trail they followed in a southerly direction to a point about one mile north of Grebe Lake where they found a camp that had evidently been occupied by men and horses for a number of days. In this camp they found a 30-30 Winchester shell and a small piece of light colored leather, with a seam near one edge and a small hole near the center; also a strip of an ordinary gray blanket which was more or less saturated with grease and had a distinctive odor of powder. Under a pile of pine boughs which had been used for a bed, they found a silver ten-cent piece and two metal fishing plugs. In a hole under a tree near the bed of boughs, they found an empty can which at some time had contained condensed milk or cream, the label on which bore the words 'St. Charles Cream.' In this can they found two 38 calibre pistol shells, which from the initials thereon were recognized by Lieutenant Lindsley as being of U. S. government manufacture. The hole in which the can was found had been carefully covered with pine cones. Lindsley and Scott then circled the camp and found the tracks of two shod horses leading north. The tracks bore evidence of being made by the same horses which preceded them on the trail coming in. One set of the tracks was made by a horse with very round feet, while the other tracks were rather narrow. At some little distance east of this trail they found a part of a gun-cover which had been cut open from end to end. The material was of ordinary blue overall cloth. They followed this trail north for a distance of 15 or 18 miles and within one-half mile of the wagon road leading from Mammoth Hot Springs to Yancey's, at which point it was obliterated. Scott, however, subsequently rediscovered the trail near Gardiner, in a low piece of ground, leading in the direction of the point where the defendants were in camp on the date following the robbery. (Piece of leather, can, empty shells, strip of blanket, fishing rod plugs and part of gun cover produced and admitted in evidence.)

"Third, by Lafe Lemay, Northern Pacific agent at Cinnabar, and W. W. Humphrey, then superintendent of the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, that they saw the defendants in camp on Trail creek, about three or four miles northwest from Gardiner, Montana, on the day following the robbery; that Smitzer was asleep in the tent, and that he had on his feet at that time a pair of hob nail shoes.

"Fourth, by David Hudson, that on the night of the 14th and morning of the 15th he was night herding horses for C. B. Scott at a point two miles north of Gardiner; that at two o'clock on the morning of the 15th, he met two men, one behind the other and separated by some considerable distance, walking and leading their horses in the trail leading up to Forsyth's ranch; that the man ahead turned out of the trail as Hudson approached him, and that he declined to answer when Hudson spoke to him; that when within thirty or forty yards of the second man Hudson asked him if he had seen any loose horses, whereupon he shied out of the trail and moved away, Hudson following him repeating the question about the loose horses. The man then answered by saying that he had not seen any loose horses and told Hudson to go about his business as he had no time to talk to him. The horses led by the men were dark bay or brown and had on cowboy saddles with guns attached. The man in the rear was the shorter of the two and wore a belt with a sixshooter therein. Hudson saw these men go up to the gate of Forsyth's ranch and they rode away in a northwest direction. Subsequently examining the tracks where the rear man shied out of the trail he discovered that they were made by hob nail boots or shoes. Hudson further said that he recognized Smitzer's voice as being that of the man who told him to go about his business.

"Fifth, by Ed Howell, that he was well acquainted with both of the defendants; that he knew Smitzer was familiar with the country in the vicinity of Grebe Lake as they both used to poach in there before the passage of the law for the protection of the Park; that he had met the defendants some ten days after the robbery occurred, between Cinnabar and Horr, and conversed with them for some time. He took particular notice of their horses, saddles, equipment, etc., Smitzer having a 30-30 Winchester and Reeb a white handled six-shooter in a light colored leather belt. He noticed that their horses' feet indicated that their shoes had been recently removed and called defendants attention to the fact. Howell was wearing a pair of government leggings and was questioned by defendants as to how he came by them, and when he answered that he was in the employ of the Superintendent of the Park, they seemed to want to end the conversation and get away; that he, Howell, had been keeping a saloon at Aldridge and as Reeb lived there,



he saw him frequently in his place of business; that Reeb had procured government pistol cartridges through a discharged soldier who was in his, Howell's, employ.

"Sixth, by Carl Woods, a clerk in W. A. Hall's store, that he sold defendant Reeb two cans of St. Charles Cream two days before the robbery; that he was about the only customer he had who used that brand; that Reeb said he was broke, and that the cream was charged to him on the books of the store. (Book containing charges placed in evidence.)

"Seventh, by Deputy U. S. Marshal Morrison, that he took the defendants into custody near Aldridge, Montana, August 30, 1897, together with their horses and camp equipage and brought them to Mammoth Hot Springs; that at the time of his arrest the defendant Reeb had on his person a light colored leather cartridge belt with scabbard attached; that the scabbard had in it a white handled 38 calibre Colt's revolver, and that the belt contained a number of cartridges and empty shells of same calibre as revolver; that there was a 30-30 Winchester rifle in their tent which was claimed by Smitzer; that they had two dark bay horses, unshod, two saddles and saddle blankets; that one of the blankets had a strip torn off from one edge of it. (The belt, revolver, cartridges, empty shells, gun and torn saddle blanket produced and admitted in evidence.)

"Eighth, by D. M. Massie, that he was a victim of the robbery and that in a coin purse taken from him by the robbers were two metal fishing rod plugs. Mr. Massie produced his fishing rod which he had with him at the time of the robbery, and while he would not swear positively that the plugs in the camp near Grebe Lake were the ones that were taken from him, it was shown to the jury that they perfectly fitted the rod, and that there could be no question about their being the identical plugs that Mr. Massie purchased with the rod. Mrs. Massie testified that she sat in the same seat with her husband; that the robber laid his pistol over her lap and told her husband to dig up; that the pistol then used by the robber had a piece of light leather around the muzzle. While she would not state positively that either of the defendants was the robber, she said that she believed that Smitzer was the man who robbed her husband.

"Ninth, by the bookkeeper of the Babcock Hardware Company of Billings, Montana, that Reeb had sent their firm an express money order for the sum of \$20.00 two days after the date of the robbery for the purchase of a revolver and ammunition. (Reeb's letter containing such order produced and admitted in evidence.)

"At the conclusion of the direct evidence for the government, it had been made plain to the jury that the piece of leather found in the camp near Grebe Lake had, at some time, been sewed around the muzzle of the revolver found on Reeb at the

time of his arrest or one of the same size barrel, and that it had been cut from the end of the cartridge belt which he at that time wore; that the strip of blanket found in said camp had been torn from one of the blankets found in the defendants' camp at the time of their arrest; that the Winchester shell found in said camp was of the same calibre, an unusual size, as that of Smitzer's rifle; that the portion of gun cover found near the trail by Lindsley and Scott had been made for a gun of the exact size of Smitzer's, the one in evidence; that the empty milk or cream can found hidden under the tree in said camp was in every particular the same as those sold defendant Reeb by the witness Woods; that the two pistol shells found in said can bore the same initials as those found in Reeb's belt at the time of his arrest; that all were of U. S. government make; that all had been exploded by a firing pin or hammer of irregular shape; that the firing pin or hammer of the revolver in evidence, Reeb's, had been filed and was of such irregular shape, that not one of 36 other shells of the same make as those in question and which had been exploded by six different revolvers of the same pattern as Reeb's, showed any irregularity in the indentation made by the hammer or firing pin; that the fishing rod plugs found in said camp were the same that were taken from Mr. Massie at the time of the robbery; that Reeb said he was broke at the time he bought the milk from Woods two days before the robbery, and that two days after the robbery he sent \$20.00 to the Babcock Hardware Company at Billings, Montana, to purchase a revolver and ammunition; that three shots were fired as the signal for the coaches to move on after the robbery and that the three empty shells had been found in the camp near Greke Lake; and that no other cartridges or shells had been found in or near said camp, at the place of the holdup, or on the trail leading out from said camp.

"The only direct evidence offered by the defendants was their own statements as to their whereabouts on the day of the robbery and the day preceding it. They claimed that they were in their camp on Trail creek near Gardiner; that Reeb spent the evening of the 13th at Aldridge, Montana, and that he was there until eleven o'clock that night; that they had been prospecting for minerals for several weeks prior to their arrest. Smitzer claimed that the money sent the Babcock Hardware Company was the proceeds of a sale of some bear skins, but on cross-examination he got badly mixed. Their counsel attempted to convince the jury that the piece of leather picked up in the camp near Grebe Lake might have been a part of some other belt than the one found on the person of the defendant Reeb, as there might be a thousand belts of the same kind. To strengthen this theory they produced two belts exactly alike which had been made for this special purpose, and cut them in pieces

in presence of the court. They then submitted part of each belt to the jury with the contention that the same would match as perfectly with each other as did the pieces of a like nature put in evidence by the prosecution. Their demonstration was a complete failure as an aid to their line of argument and only served to make the evidence of the prosecution more convincing. They also put an expert gunsmith on the stand and through him exhibited a number of revolvers, the hammers of firing pins of which had been filed, but this very evidently had no weight with the jury, as it would have been a very simple matter to have doctored any number of revolvers in such manner.

"In rebuttal the prosecution proved by Deputy Marshal Morrison, Frank Scott and Ed Howell that there was nothing whatever in the shape of prospecting tools in defendants' possession at the time of their arrest, and by the witness Pierstorff that the defendants ate dinner with him, at the same table, at the Canyon Hotel, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of August 13th. Also by Mr. Van Blaricon, the newspaper reporter referred to, that the night before the holdup, just at dusk, he was sitting on the porch of the Canyon Hotel; that these two men passed him; that he positively identified Reeb under the following circumstances. He had two small fox terriers which accompanied him at all times; that as these two men passed the dogs jumped from his lap and snapped at them. He got up, apologized for the dogs' conduct, and while so doing he noticed that the taller man was very pale, and that he, Van Blaricon, said to himself, that fellow is in the same boat that I am, he is suffering with lung trouble.

"This closed the case. The jury retired and after being out several hours returned a verdict finding defendants guilty. They were sentenced to serve three years in the penitentiary."

### Ed Howell, the Poacher

I then asked the Judge how Ed Howell, who was reputed to be one of the worst poachers around the park and who had been in trouble with the park authorities, was aiding in the capture of the holdup men and was working with the government. The Judge said that F. Jay Haynes, father of Jack Haynes, was really responsible for Ed Howell helping out. He told me that F. Jay Haynes was really a character and gave me more information on Ed Howell, as follows:

"Haynes always contended that Ed Howell was not a bad man. He always stood up for him notwithstanding Howell was caught poaching buffalo. Haynes went to General Young, who was then superintendent of the park, and told him to get Ed Howell on the trail and he would find the hold-up men, that he knew all the bad men and poachers around the park. So General Young came to me and asked me if I could find Ed

Howell. I told him where he was and he told me to go and see him. Ed was keeping a restaurant and saloon in a mining camp at Aldrich. There were some coke ovens around Aldrich at that time and he was doing quite a business. So I went and got a team from the transportation company and went to Aldrich. Ed wasn't in. He was away hunting horses. I waited all day until after dark for him to show up. When he came in I told him General Young wanted to see him. He wanted to go back with me but I told him it wouldn't do for him to be seen with me and that he should come up sometime during the night. When I returned to Mammoth, General Young was out to dinner. It was about eleven o'clock. I went to where I knew he was having dinner and told him Ed Howell would be in sometime during the night and that he knew where he would find the General. Before daylight Ed had come in and was on the trail of the hold-up men.

"Lieutenant Lindsley resented having Ed Howell work with him in looking for the hold-up men so Ed went on his own hook and Lindsley and Frank Scott went together.

"While Ed Howell had been caught poaching in the park and had been denied admittance to the park except by order of the superintendent or the Secretary of the Interior, he had not violated a law—merely an order of the Secretary of the Interior. When we tried Howell he said: 'I never violated a law in my life.' Captain Anderson was Superintendent of the park at the time we tried Ed Howell and the Captain was just wild when Howell made this statement. Captain Anderson asked him what he called killing thirteen buffalo in the park and Howell merely told him that he had violated an order of the Secretary of the Interior. There was no law protecting the animals of the park at the time Howell was on trial for killing thirteen buffalo and all they could do with him was put him out of the park. Then we got the rules amended to read that if a man was put out of the park he couldn't get back without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior or the Superintendent. During his trial Howell said: 'Captain Anderson, I have done more for the good of the park than you ever have.' He had reference to his being responsible for the passing of the law which protected the wild life of the park. Howell was really a pretty good fellow—slow and easy going.

"Ed Howell was the defendant in the second case I tried in the park—he had been arrested for poaching. That was the only case they ever reversed on me. After I kept Howell in jail for thirty days he went to Cheyenne and had my decision reversed. There were a lot of bad men around the park at the time Howell was caught poaching and they were waiting to see what the outcome of his trial would be. I was sort of 'on the spot'. I put him in the guard house. He appealed his case



and went to Cheyenne and got me reversed. He had served nearly all of his thirty days in the guard house before he had his appeal perfected.

"Notwithstanding all the trouble Ed Howell had with the park authorities when he finally left this part of the country the reward for the capture of Little Gus and Morphine Charley had not been paid. The Government had offered a reward of five hundred dollars and the transportation company, two hundred and fifty, making seven hundred and fifty dollars in all. This was to be paid to the man or men responsible for the conviction of these two men. The question was unsettled for some time as to who should have the reward. They haggled and haggled over it, and finally it was put up to the superintendent of the park and myself to make the decision as to who was entitled to the reward.

"In the meantime General Young had been promoted and left here and Captain Erwin was made superintendent. So it was up to Erwin and myself to decide who should have the reward. So we got together and marked down the amounts we thought the different men should have. The only stumbling block in the way was Ed Howell. Lindsley, who was entitled to a part of the reward, because he was an Army officer, wouldn't accept anything. He wanted Frank Scott, who was with him all the time he was on the trail of these men, to have his share of the reward. So that hung it up again. When we finally came to marking up the various amounts Captain Erwin marked Howell up as number one, as being entitled to the largest reward of them all. The matter was still unsettled when Howell left this part of the country. The Spanish War came on about that time and troops from here were ordered to Manila. Howell was full of adventure and went to Manila, where he operated a restaurant. When he went away he came to me and asked me to collect his part of the reward and keep it for him. He said: 'Judge, if you say that I am entitled to only one dollar I will be satisfied, and if you say I am entitled to more I will be better satisfied, but whatever you say I will abide by.' I told him he better get somebody else and mentioned some other parties and told him to get them power of attorney to collect the reward whenever it was paid. By golly, he went to Helena and had the Power of Attorney made out to me. I got his reward and sent it to Manila. He got one hundred and fifty dollars out of it.

"There were others who knew what Lindsley knew about the whole affair but they couldn't go on the stand and explain it to the jury. Lindsley had a map of the park and he had a map of the trail he went over and a map of the camp and he pointed out to the jury how he found them, where he found them and how he followed the trail. Frank Scott was with him all the time but

he couldn't go before the jury and explain it. Lindsley was really the star witness—but Ed Howell was a good second.

"Several interesting incidents occurred during the trial of Little Gus and Morphine Charley. The lawyer who defended the culprits was the best criminal lawyer Wyoming ever had. He was the same lawyer Ed Howell had to reverse my case. During the trial this lawyer asked Ed what his business was and Ed said he kept a restaurant and saloon and did a little freighting. Trying to embarrass Ed he asked him what his business was at such and such a time, designating the time he was caught killing buffalo in the park. He said: 'Oh, I was freighting a little and I was poaching on the side.' The lawyer then said: 'Now, what was the outcome of that poaching?' Ed said: 'They arrested me and brought me into the Yellowstone Park. I didn't violate any law and they couldn't do anything with me. I merely violated a rule of the Secretary of the Interior.' The lawyer said: 'Well, what did you do about that case?' And Ed replied: 'You ought to know, I paid you two hundred dollars to get me out of it.'

I don't know where he went after he came back here, and I never knew what become of him. Nobody seemed to know where he went and I have never heard from him.

### **The Case of William Binkley**

"I remember the first case I ever tried after I came to the park in 1894. It was the case of John Reese, but it didn't amount to much. Reese was accused of stealing a watch. The United States Attorney came up and dismissed the case. In those days they never tried a case unless the U. S. Attorney came up and took charge. Now they don't think of sending the U. S. Attorney unless the Judge makes a special request for him.

"Another interesting case which I recollect very well was the one when the prisoner jumped off the wagon. It was at the time they were putting dirt on the plaza out here. They had this fellow, William Binkley, out on the job from the guard house, and coming in one evening after it was getting a little dark, with a guard along walking behind the wagon, they got into this piece of brush behind the hotel. He jumped off the wagon and was never seen after that, though he later came back and held up some coaches. They never got him.

"He was in the guard house the first time for poaching. He shipped to Los Angeles a half carload of elk heads and horns, and they arrested him on the way to California; prosecuted him in Idaho for going through there with contraband property. They convicted him there and in Los Angeles and sent him back here. They shipped that whole business to Gardiner. They shipped it to me but I wouldn't accept it. They brought Binkley back here, and after a long trial and witnesses from

all corners of Los Angeles, Idaho, Jackson Hole and other places, all we could prove on him was that he killed one elk in Yellowstone Park. But he had poached a whole lot down in Jackson Hole that I couldn't take into consideration. The truth of the matter was that they were all afraid of him. The fellows down in the Jackson Hole didn't dare to arrest him. He was doing pretty nearly what he wanted to in the Jackson Hole, so they saddled it on to the United States to prosecute him. That case was in every newspaper in the country. In fact, the President of the United States took a personal interest in the case—the President was Teddy Roosevelt.

"General Young, who was superintendent, was a personal friend of Roosevelt and he was just wild to convict these fellows. So he did convict them and I sent Binkley and another man with him, by the mane of Purdy, to the guard house. I knew they couldn't pay any fine, because they didn't have a cent. They had been skinned clean of everything they had. I had the whole business on my hands here. There had been such a furor raised about the case, everyone thought I ought to send those fellows to the penitentiary. There was a man here from the Biological Survey who was taking quite a part in it. In fact, everyone was against me, even the United States Attorney who I depended upon to help me. Even he came up. He said: 'After all the money we have spent and all the trouble we have gone to to convict them you give them ninety days in the guard house.'

"Dr. T. S. Palmer, the Biological Survey man in question, said he would pay the freight on all the stuff if I would accept it. I told him I wouldn't have anything to do with it. So Young and Palmer between them paid the freight on it and brought it up here but I wouldn't accept it. They got this property; the case was concluded. I sent these fellows to the guard house for ninety days and cost, which was about a thousand dollars. Palmer and General Young were like the fellow who had the bear by the tail—they had the bear by the tail but they couldn't let go. They didn't know what to do. I said to Palmer: 'I will tell you how to get out of this mess. You can get an execution for the cost in this case and levy on that property to pay the execution and you can buy it.' So, I sent a transcript of the case to Cheyenne and got an execution issued by the Court and had it sent out here. Lindsley was deputy marshal at the time, Lindsley went down to levy the execution and he couldn't find a thing. Lindsley came up here and said he couldn't find a thing. He said the Quartermaster wouldn't let him in. I said we would just go down and see if the Quartermaster wouldn't let us open the door. I said to the Quartermaster: 'Here is a civil writ which gives Mr. Lindsley authority to look for the property. If you want to take the chances with the civil authorities, say so, but I think you better let Mr. Lindsley go in there.'

Lindsley went in there and only found one pair of old bleached horns. Well, I got a telegram from the Department of Justice, through the United States Attorney. It wanted to know what had become of the property. So I took this telegram to General Young and said: 'Here is a telegram I can't answer without some information from you.' General Young had gotten so disgusted with me because I didn't send the fellows to the penitentiary that he hardly spoke to me. I asked him if he could answer the telegram and he said he could. He said the property was shipped to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. I asked by whose order was it shipped from here, and he said by his. I asked him to endorse the telegram to that effect. That was the last we ever heard about the matter.

"Well, after it was all over and the next time the United States Attorney came here to try a case, I said: 'Well, what do you think of the Binkley case now?' 'Well', he said, 'Judge, you were right. You are always right.' I thought that was pretty good to get that out of him."

#### Chapter VIII

### Miscellaneous

When I found Judge Meldrum in a story-telling mood in my interview with him on October 23, 1934, I asked him to tell me the story of "Big Nose George", which I had heard him tell before. While this incident happened during his days in Wyoming, in 1880, nevertheless it was an interesting one, and as the Judge played an important part in it and as a number of early Wyoming people participated I felt it should be included in this account of his life. He told me that he wrote an article on "Big Nose George" for the Union Pacific Magazine, which appeared in the November, 1926, issue. He gave me a copy of the magazine and I am quoting the story exactly as it appeared in this magazine:

#### "THE TAMING OF 'BIG NOSE GEORGE'— AND OTHERS"

"Section Men, Sheriffs and all Available Citizens Combined to Checkmate 'Dutch Charley', Sim Wan and Their Pals in the Early 80's—A Silk Hat That Might Have Proved Fatal.

**By John W. Meldrum**

Commissioner, Yellowstone National Park

"My first sight of the Union Pacific Railroad was in the early spring of 1868, when Cheyenne was its western terminus. I came there to meet my brother, Norman, who was Cheyenne's first city treasurer and one of its first residents, having been an army officer on duty in that part of the country prior to that time. Accompanied by my bride of a few months, I was wearing a high silk hat, which my brother advised me to put out of sight before leaving the railroad station for the hotel, as it might be taken for a target by some of the boys.



### When Cheyenne Was Wild and Woolly

"Cheyenne at that time was surely the wild and woolly West, where people didn't go to bed until the 'next day'. However, it was my privilege in later years to be a resident of that city when there was not another in the country of more orderly or better government, and when it was claimed that its wealth per capita exceeded that of any other place in the United States.

"Going to Laramie in May, 1870, I built the fifth good house in the town on a lot purchased from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, the deed therefor being signed by Grenville M. Dodge, the distinguished Civil War general who was its chief engineer. On this lot was grown the first lawn, other than the native grass, in the (then) Territory of Wyoming. Here I continued to reside for nineteen years, during which period I met and became well acquainted with many of the officials and employees of the Union Pacific, among them Luther Fillmore, S. T. Shankland, J. T. Clark, Ed Dickinson, Larry Maloy, Robert Galbraith and his son R. M. Galbraith, Joe Edson, R. W. Baxter, Steve and Henry Mills and scores of others. Fully one-half of the population of the town consisted of railroad men and their families.

"From September, 1872, to July, 1884, I was clerk of the Second Judicial District Court—Albany and Carbon counties—in which occurred many stirring events. Officers and employees of the Union Pacific were the central figures in some of them.

"I think it was in the spring of 1880 that a bunch of bad men—Frank James, 'Big-Nosed George', Sim Wan, 'Dutch Charley', and others—attempted to hold up a Union Pacific Passenger train between Rock Creek and Medicine Bow. The section foreman learned that the men were in the vicinity and had all their plans made for doing the job. He lost no time in reaching the nearest telegraph station, where he wired Ed. Dickinson, then superintendent of the Wyoming Division, whose headquarters were at Laramie.

"It was after dark when Dickinson received the message, but before midnight he had assembled a posse with horses, headed by the sheriff of Albany County, ready to move by special train at the first sign of dawn. The posse did not succeed in getting any trace of the offending parties on the first day, and as it was found that the offense was committed in Carbon County, the job of further pursuit was turned over to Jim Rankin, then sheriff of that county.

### Hot Ashes as a Clew

"In the meantime, two deputy sheriffs of Carbon County, George Widdowfield and Tip Vincent, took the trail on their own hook, going around Elk Mountain and up Rattlesnake Canyon, where they found the fleeing men's camp. Vincent got down from his horse and stuck his hand in the ashes of the fire, remarking to Widdowfield that it was red-hot and that they would soon have them. The robbers, who were concealed in a clump of bushes, fired when Vincent spoke, killing Widdowfield. Vincent made the best fight possible, but he, too, was shot down; it was weeks before the two bodies were found.

"In the interim the muderers had escaped, but Jim Rankin kept on their trail, following them into 'Jackson Hole', at that time the rendezvous of outlaws, and on to Fort Benton, Montana. 'Dutch Charley' was the first one caught, but Rankin did not succeed in landing him in the Carbon County jail. When the train pulled into Carbon, a lynching party forcibly took Charlie from the sheriff and hanged him to a telegraph pole.

"Big Nosed George' was the next one overtaken, and he, too, was met by a delegation of Widdowfield's and Vincent's friends, when the train carrying him reached Carbon. Rankin did the best he could to protect his prisoner, but George was 'walking on air' in the shade of a telegraph pole soon after his arrival at the mining town. A participant in this affair—later a prominent United States official—told me that they 'elevated' George the fourth time in order to obtain the information desired, viz: the names of the other members

of the murderous gang. George was indicted for murder at the September, 1880, term of the District Court of Carbon County, and when arraigned on the indictment returned against him, he said he was 'guilty'.

### 'Big Nosed George's Plea

"The presiding judge, Hon. Jacob B. Blair, refused to accept this plea and remanded George to jail for a week, telling him to think the matter over. When George was taken from the court room, Judge Blair called me to his desk and said, 'I want you to go to the jail and interview the gentleman with the pronounced proboscis and ascertain whether or not he is compos mentis.' I found George sitting on the edge of his bunk with his head in his hands, and not inclined to talk.

"However, after I had assured him that the Court would protect him during his trial, he said, 'Well I have made up my mind that this thing is going to cost me my life, and I would rather be hung by the sheriff than by a mob.' He was afraid that should he enter a plea of not guilty, a mob would take him from the sheriff and hang him. Later in the term of court he was found guilty of murder in the first degree and remanded for sentence. On December 15, 1880, George was sentenced by Judge William Ware Peck to be hanged on the second day of April, 1881.

"Judge Peck was a dignified and learned jurist, but somewhat eccentric. On this occasion he called in the governor of the territory, the county and city officers, and all members of the clergy, and, directing all persons in the court room to arise and stand at attention, he pronounced sentence.

"I have the original draft of the sentence, prepared by myself, which was submitted to Judge Peck for approval before being entered on record in the court journal.

### An Early Day Hunger Strike

"George, being remanded to the Carbon County jail to await execution, went on a 'hunger strike', which didn't bring the results he had hoped for. One evening when the jailer, Sheriff Rankin's brother, went to George's cell to lock up for the night, George had in some way gotten his shackles off and used them as a weapon with which he knocked Rankin senseless. Rankin's wife, hearing the commotion, sensed its cause and, rushing to the jail corridor with rifle in hand, said, 'George, get back into your cell or I'll kill you.' And George went back."

About an hour later George was climbing a ladder supported by a telegraph pole, one end of a rope around his neck and the other connecting with the cross-tree of the pole. You can guess what happened.

"During even those early days the Union Pacific carried many distinguished passengers. Among them were Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, Presidents Hayes and Arthur, the Emperor of Brazil, and other foreign potentates. It was my privilege in October, 1879, to be a member of a committee appointed to escort General Grant and party from Laramie to Cheyenne, when on his way home from a trip around the world. The other members of the

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\*NOTE.—On display in a glass case in the State Museum, Supreme Court Building at Cheyenne, Wyoming, is a beautiful gold watch, with key, in a handsome velvet-lined case, and a card bearing the following information:

"Presented to Mrs. Rosa Rankin by the County Commissioners of Carbon County, March 22, 1881, for bravery in preventing the escape of Big Nose George from the Rawlins jail, March 20, 1881. Mrs. Rankin, wife of the jailer, came to her husband's rescue when Big Nose George assaulted him in an attempted escape, before his hanging.

The watch was given to the Wyoming Historical Department on October 23, 1937, by Mrs. J. T. Williams, nee Wilda Rankin (now deceased), James Hayes Rankin, Robert Wilson Rankin and Elmer Lee Rankin, daughter and sons of Rosa and Robert Rankin."—Ed.

committee were Col. John W. Donnellan, Hon. William H. Holliday and M. N. Grant, the last named being a distant relative of the general. I have the autograph which he gave me on that occasion, accompanied by a big black cigar.

#### **The Railway Like an Old Friend**

"It is more than thirty years since I was intimately associated with the Union Pacific, but I have noted its progress with as much interest as I would that of a personal friend, and when, at Hollywood, California, some time ago, I witnessed that marvelous movie, 'The Iron Horse', depicting the driving of the golden spike in 1869, I was moved to cheers and tears. I think it safe to say that I was the only person in that vast audience who had seen and known some of the real actors therein represented."

#### **Prized Letters, Appointments, Clippings, Etc.**

Judge Meldrum showed me about his house and displayed to me a number of clippings and letters which he said he prized very highly. He showed me the petition, dated February 10, 1876, signed by ten of the leading lawyers of the state asking for his appointment as Clerk of the District Court. The names included W. W. Corlett, whom the Judge said was one of the best lawyers who ever appeared before the bar in Wyoming. He mentioned that none of the ten men were living today. He showed me an appointment signed by Jacob B. Blair, Associate Justice, County of Albany, Laramie City, dated March 14, 1876. It was written in longhand. He told me that he brought to the park with him in 1894 the first typewriter owned by the State of Wyoming.

#### **Letter of Recommendation from Henry T. Noble**

The Judge then showed me the letter of recommendation previously mentioned under his life in Little Rock, Arkansas, from Colonel and Chief Quartermaster Henry T. Noble, dated September 15, 1866. He told me that he prized this letter more than anything he has—that he was only 23 years old when he received it. Col. Noble seemed to have left a lasting impression on the Judge as he said: "He was noble in character as well as noble in name", that he was the cousin of John W. Noble who was Secretary of the Interior under President Harrison. Because of the value Judge Meldrum placed in this letter he allowed me to copy it and it is quoted below:

#### **"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARKANSAS OFFICE CHIEF QUARTERMASTER**

"Little Rock, Arkansas September 15, 1866.

"I take pleasure in commending Mr. J. W. Meldrum to the favorable consideration of all officers of the Quartermaster Department and to business men generally as a young man worthy of entire confidence, faithful, honest and of good habits.

"He has been in the employ of this department since December, 1864 and has always performed the duties assigned him with the strictest fidelity to the Government.

"(Sgd.) HENRY T. NOBLE  
Col. & Chief Quartermaster."

The Judge then took me upstairs to show me various documents. On the wall in the hall on the second floor he had framed his commission as Surveyor General of Wyoming signed by President Arthur, July 3, 1884.

He showed me his commission as Inspector General with the rank of Colonel in the National Guard of Wyoming signed by Governor Amos W. Barber July 3, 1891, for a period of three years, and also signed by Frank A. Stitzer, Adjutant General. The Judge said that although he was entitled to the rank of Colonel he never used the title of Colonel but that they used to call him by that title.

He showed me a "recess" appointment of John W. Meldrum as Secretary of State, vice Daniel G. Shannon, resigned, signed by Benjamin Harrison, President, dated May 20, 1889, and also signed by John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, the appointment reading for four years.

He also showed me an appointment issued to him later by President Harrison, dated January 9, 1890, as Secretary of Wyoming, which was also signed by John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, and was for a like period of four years.

### Certificate of Election to Council

He then showed me the "Certificate of Election" Executive Department for the Territory of Wyoming and allowed me to make a copy of it. It follows:

#### C E R T I F I C A T E

"According to the official returns of general election held in the Territory of Wyoming on the 2nd day of September, 1879, received and filed in the office of the Secretary of the Territory, and duly examined by the Board of Canvassers, according to law, it appears that J. W. Meldrum received a majority of votes of the Council from the district consisting of the county of Albany and whereas the Board of Canvassers has certified to the Governor of the Territory of Wyoming that such is the fact, I, John W. Hoyt, Governor of the Territory of Wyoming, do hereby declare that J. W. Meldrum to be duly elected a member of the Council of the 6th Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, which is to convene on the first Tuesday of November next.

"A. Worth Spates,  
Secretary of Territory"

(Sgd.) JOHN W. HOYT  
Governor"

He then showed me another appointment as a member of a Commission to reopen negotiations with the Shoshoni and Arapahoe tribes and allowed me to make a copy of it. It reads:

#### C O M M I S S I O N

"Know Ye, that, reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, ability and truth of John W. Meldrum of Cheyenne, Wyoming, I do appoint him to be a commissioner to reopen negotiations with the Shoshoni and Arapahoe tribes in the State of Wyoming for the surrender to the United States of



certain portions of their reservations in said state, and to negotiate with the Flathead and confederated tribes of Indians in the State of Montana, under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved July 13, 1892 (Pamphlet Laws, p. 120), with compensation at \$10 per day when actually employed, and actual and necessary traveling expenses, exclusive of subsistence, and to authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that office according to law, and to hold the said office with all the rights and emoluments thereunto legally appertaining to him, the said John W. Meldrum, during the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior, for the time being.

(Sgd.) JOHN W. NOBLE  
Secretary of the Interior"

### Heard Bob Ingersoll

He showed me a number of scrap books containing clip-pings, pictures, badges, etc., and told me that Mrs. Meldrum was responsible for accumulating them. One of the clippings called to his mind Bob Ingersoll and that he was present when Bob Ingersoll made that wonderful speech nominating Jim Blaine, in Cincinnati in 1876, and was broadcast from pole to pole. It was when Ingersoll was dubbed the "Plumed Knight." The Judge said that Bob Ingersoll was a great man and that his brother thought him the greatest man in the country.

### Newspaper Clippings

The Judge showed me several newspaper clippings concerning himself which he allowed me to copy. They are quoted below for this record:

#### "MELDRUM GETS THERE"

He is Appointed Secretary of Wyoming by the President

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The News of the Nomination Reached Laramie  
at Noon Today—A Sketch of the  
Career of the New Secretary

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21, 1889.—(Special to THE BOOMERANG)  
—The President today nominated Hon. John W. Meldrum, of Laramie, to be Secretary of Wyoming.

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"The special dispatch announcing Mr. Meldrum's appointment as Secretary was received by THE BOOMERANG shortly before noon Tuesday and was the first notice of it received in the city. The news soon became known over town and a delegation of those who first heard of it at once started for Mr. Meldrum's residence. When he greeted them at the door he was addressed as 'Mr. Secretary' by County Attorney Groesbeck, and it proved to be his first notification of his appointment. The new secretary and his wife were heartily congratulated by their callers. All this time a dispatch to Mr. Meldrum, apprising him of his appointment, was being wildly clutched between the begrimed fingers of a telegraph messenger who had become sadly tangled up in his efforts to find his man.

"John W. Meldrum, Wyoming's new Secretary, is one of the territory's earliest settlers. He was born in Caledonia, New York, September 17, 1845, where he lived until the summer of 1862. He was then serving an apprenticeship as a carriage maker, but the war had broken out and his country was in peril, and he was eager to go to the front. So he enlisted, being only 17 years of age at the time, but the medical examiner refused to accept him. In 1863 he again enlisted and served in the army of the Potomac. Early in 1865 he went south, where he served under Colonel T. Noble, a cousin of the present secretary of the interior, where he was at the close of the war. The knowledge he acquired while serving his apprenticeship as carriage maker proved very useful, and when only 19 years of age he was appointed master mechanic of the department of Colonel Noble. He remained in Arkansas until 1867, when he was obliged to leave on account of his health, and the spring of 1868 found him in Cheyenne. He remained in Cheyenne only a short time, going from there to Fort Collins, where he was for two years upon a ranch.

"After leaving Fort Collins he came to Laramie and has been a resident of this city ever since. He opened a meat market—the second in the city—and conducted it for some time, after which he worked at his trade in the Union Pacific shops. Leaving the shops he entered the employ of Hutton & Co. and not long afterward was appointed clerk of the district court, a position which he filled for eleven years. He has since served two terms as county clerk, one term as chairman of the board of county commissioners and one term in the territorial council. In 1882 he was placed in nomination by the republicans as their delegate to congress from Wyoming, but was defeated by M. E. Post, owing to the peculiar conditions which then existed. In 1884 he was a delegate to the national republican convention at Chicago and was made secretary of the notification committee which visited Blaine and Logan. The same year he was appointed surveyor general of the territory by President Arthur and held the position until the Cleveland administration came into power. He resigned in July, 1885, although his resignation was not accepted until November of that year. Since that time he has held no official position, nor has he been actively engaged in business. He has been for some time one of the directors of the Albany County National Bank.

"Norman H. Meldrum, a brother of Secretary Meldrum, was lately lieutenant governor of Colorado, and was for two terms secretary of state. A younger brother, Gordon B., died in Libby prison.

"Mr. Meldrum is one of Laramie's most popular citizens and his appointment as secretary gives unbounded satisfaction. There was practically no opposition to his appointment, and his candidacy received a hearty endorsement from all portions of the territory."

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## "WYOMING MILITIA"

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### Muster In of Company D, at Rock Springs, By Captain Stitzer

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"Captain Stitzer has just returned from Rock Springs, where under the instruction and authority of Adjutant General Meldrum, he mustered in Company D, of Wyoming National Guards. The company is composed of sixty-nine of the best citizens of Rock Springs, including two editors, Messrs. Dresser and Smith, and is officered as follows. Captain, Horace E. Christmas; First Lieutenant, R. D. Woodruff; Second Lieutenant, C. F. Hamlin. The muster in was made at Swanson's hall, where the company has its headquarters and armory. When this official business was completed the company with invited guests repaired to the St. James hotel where a fine banquet was spread and a grand jollification indulged in. With speeches, songs and recitations the occasion was made delightful to all its participants. The officers from Camp Pilot Butte were present, including Colonel Burke, Captain Coolidge and

Lieutenant Moore. Dave Miller was on hand with his entertaining talk and merry songs as well as other leading citizens of the town.

"The people of Rock Springs take a just pride in the make up of Company D, which comprises the finest material in the state for a militia organization, and the members declare that they will soon compete with the Cheyenne guards for the honor of being the best drilled company in Wyoming. Captain Stitzer was the hero of the day and received many kind attentions from the people in Rock Springs."

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### "COURT CLERKSHIP"

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Mr. Meldrum Resigns—Judge Blair's Letter of  
Acceptance—Mr. R. Butler Appointed.

"At 7 o'clock last evening Hon. J. W. Meldrum, the recently appointed Surveyor General of Wyoming, tendered to the Hon. J. B. Blair his resignation as Clerk of the District Court for the Second Judicial District, a position he has held for many years with honor and universal satisfaction. Judge Blair accepted Mr. Meldrum's resignation in the following letter, which is well worthy of careful perusal.

Laramie, Wyoming, July 15, 1884.

"Hon. J. W. Meldrum.

"My Dear Sir.—Your note of this date, tendering your resignation as Clerk of the District Court of the Second Judicial District, is before me.

"When I say that I deeply regret that any necessity should have arisen rendering it imperative for you to take the action you have, I but express that which I feel, and mean just what I say.

"Almost eight and a half years ago you received a reappointment as Clerk at my hands. In looking back over this long period of time, I cannot recall a single instance when an order was improperly entered by you, or which failed to state the facts as they occurred, nor a complaint of any member of the bar, or a citizen, either as to your competency or fidelity in the discharge of your official duties, nor can I recall an instance when you failed to be present in court when the moment had arrived for business. This is indeed an extraordinary record; but no less extraordinary than true in every particular—a record in and to which you may just feel and refer with manly pride. With such a record before me, coupled with the fact that there has not been an hour of even coolness between us since our first acquaintance, you cannot fail to believe me sincere when I repeat that I accept your resignation with the greatest reluctance.

"I congratulate you on the well-merited compliment paid you by the President, in appointing you to the responsible office of Surveyor General of this Territory—a compliment which I am quite sure will be shared by the whole people of the Territory of Wyoming. That you will bring to the discharge of the new duties that await you the same energy sense of responsibility, honesty of purpose, and conscientiousness of official trust, that you did while holding the position you have this day surrendered, no one who knows you will for a moment doubt.

"With great respect, your sincere friend,

JACOB B. BLAIR".

### Interview by Joe H. Mader

On July 12, 1935, several months following my last interview with Judge Meldrum and after the Judge had resigned his position as U. S. Commissioner on June 30, 1935, I asked

Joe H. Mader, a newspaper man and associated with the Department of Journalism, University of North Dakota, who was the publicity director for the park that summer, to call on the Judge for an interview, with the hope that he might be able to get some additional information on the Judge's life. Mr. Mader did this and following is his write up of the interview had with the Judge on July 12, 1935:

"Reviewing the period of 41 years during which he has served in Yellowstone National Park as U. S. Commissioner, Judge John W. Meldrum believes the greatest impression on him has been the tremendous growth in the number of visitors to the park and the gradual but distinct change that has transformed this area from the old West range where badmen sought refuge to the present wonderland area that provides a playground for a quarter million persons each summer.

"Judge Meldrum's first picture of Yellowstone Park was a mental one formed from the accounts given him by John W. Hoyt, one-time governor of Wyoming. During the summer of 1881, the then Governor Hoyt was asked by the federal government to make an inspection trip through the park. This was before there was any trail or road reaching the park from the East. All travel at that time, except pack trains, came through the northern route which was then the only one served by a railroad. Governor Hoyt asked permission to secure a staff and detail of soldiers, cooks, etc., from the regular army, and about 25 men were assigned to him. With this group he left Cheyenne for the long trek through the park. The party spent more than a month in the saddle, and returned to tell of their experiences. Governor Hoyt's son, Kepler, still a youngster, endured the hardships of the trip so manfully that the then Superintendent of the park, Norris, decided to name the Kepler cascades for the youngster. It is still so called.

"Judge Meldrum was an intimate friend of Governor Hoyt, and from him he heard the finely woven tale of the wonders of the park area. From this time on, the Judge recalls, he formed a desire to visit Yellowstone, but his wish was not to be fulfilled until 13 years later when he was appointed to the office of commissioner.

"The post to which he had been appointed was an entirely new office, created to meet the situation then extant over the 3,000 square mile area. Prior to that time U. S. commissioners merely acted as intermediaries between the arresting officer and the prosecuting officer, taking no complete jurisdiction over a case themselves. Because of the conditions existing in the park, and the distances between the park and regular federal courts, Judge Meldrum was given authority to summarily try cases involving misdemeanors, and to dispose of the cases, imposing the punishment deemed fitting for the offense. Origin-



ally he had full authority over such misdemeanors calling for punishment up to \$1,000 fine and two years imprisonment. Later this was changed so that the maximum punishment over which he had complete jurisdiction was \$500 and six months in prison.

"Meldrum's appointment came through Hon. John A. Riner of the federal district court of Cheyenne. Of the hundreds of cases which have been brought before Judge Meldrum, only one has ever been appealed from his decision to the district attorney. Judge Meldrum recalled with considerable relish that his decision was reversed and that this reversal was made by the same Judge Riner who had appointed him.

"Although in his 41 years as commissioner Judge Meldrum 'sat in' on thousands of cases in which some infraction was charged, only 519 cases called for punishment either directly under his ruling or else were felonies which had to be punished under ruling from the District Judge at Cheyenne. The other infractions were usually minor, and the offender was given a severe lecture or detailed instructions on law observance. It was Judge Meldrum's theory that much more good could often be done by a reprimand and an instructional talk to an offender than by antagonizing an individual who was likely not a law-breaker naturally.

"Yellowstone Park in its modern development was never a haven for law-breakers, the judge pointed out. In the old days, he says, there were many deliberate law violators. Stage-coach hold-ups were not infrequent. The craze for gold turned many adventurous and carefree individuals into gun-toting badmen. Poaching was so common that many of those who had practiced it for years looked upon it pretty much like the steady drinker did in the days of prohibition—a necessity perhaps for others, but a nuisance law to be studiously broken by him. Strangely enough, the liquor problem was never as acute in the park as one might imagine, according to Meldrum. Up to the year 1916, liquor in all its forms had always been served at bars throughout the park. In a few instances the presence of the 'spiritus frumenti' caused a rush of business in the judge's office on a Monday morning, he recalls, but it never was a serious issue. During all of that time the policing activities and administration of the park was in the hands of army men. One of the most stringent regulations was that which prohibited the sale of liquor to soldiers. This, the judge believes, kept the administration of liquor regulations a fairly simple task, and most park visitors had a high regard for rules of conduct and control around the bars.

"During the World War the park operators voluntarily ceased dispensing liquor as a patriotic demonstration of conservation. This year, 1935, the sale of liquor in the park again

became legal. Asked about his opinion of the result of such legalization, the judge declared that he believed the problem would undoubtedly require more attention now because of the large number of automobiles now on the park highways, and because of the greater speed of travel. However, he feels that only a very small percentage of persons who come to the park have any interest in securing intoxicating liquor.

"The advent of the automobile in the park in 1915 is responsible for perhaps the greatest change, Judge Meldrum believes. Today in one single day as many as five or six thousand persons come into the park, whereas during his first few years in the park, the entire travel for the season would be less than a single day's run today. This shift in travel methods has allowed millions of persons to visit Yellowstone Park who might otherwise not have been able to make the trip. Perhaps not a single property owned by the people of the United States has brought as much pleasure, educational value and inspiration to as many persons as Yellowstone, the Judge suggested.

"The age of speed has had one influence on travel which the judge despaired.

" 'People are going through the park too fast', he protested. 'So many of them pride themselves on the fact that they have made the loop trip in one day. What have they seen? Some come through so hurriedly that later if they are questioned as to whether or not they had enjoyed the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, they don't even remember whether they had seen it or not. In the stagecoach days people couldn't go through faster than six or seven days. Many of them spent ten days or two weeks in the park. When they left, they really had a mental picture of the wonders that have been worked here.'

" 'All the enjoyment and pleasure that is stored up in the park here for the public cannot be absorbed by anyone who has a craze for speed', he continued. 'When they dedicated that northern arch for 'the benefit and enjoyment of the people' the government meant just that. You cannot benefit and you cannot enjoy the park if you hurry through.'

"For the administrators of the park from the old-time army officers to the present-day uniformed men of the National Park Service, Judge Meldrum has nothing but praise. He feels that a great step was taken with the organization of the Service, and the building up of an efficient, courteous force of park rangers under Superintendent Horace M. Albright and later under Superintendent Roger W. Toll, prepared the park for the capable reception of the millions who have entered the park since they took over the reins.

" 'A monument should be erected in the park to the memory of Hiram W. Chittenden', says Judge Meldrum. To him the judge

would give great credit for laying the foundation for development of this vast area for the future enjoyment of the people. Nearly all of the early work of improvement in the park was done under the expert engineering eye of Chittenden. Judge Meldrum recalled how Chittenden laid out the road between Old Faithful and Yellowstone Lake, using only an ordinary spirit level for the work, crossing the continental divide twice and laying out a road which is still in use today. Also he recalled how Chittenden set as his goal the acquisition of greater appropriations for road construction than the \$60,000 allowed by Congress. He went to Washington and spent long hours in conference with 'Uncle Joe' Cannon, who was then chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Finally he succeeded in getting 'Uncle Joe' to come out to the park for a visit and tour of inspection. So impressed was the veteran legislator with Chittenden's presentation of the request and his earnest appeal that the following session of Congress appropriated \$750,000 to be spent over a period of three years in improvement of park facilities.

"Many of the roadways in the park, many of the bridges including the now famous Chittenden bridge, and the great improvement of the parade ground at Mammoth Hot Springs came about as a result of this interview by Chittenden,' the judge recalled. 'Today only a few of us old timers and those in the employ of the National Park Service know how truly great a man Chittenden was.'

"Not only has the judge observed great changes in the spirit of the Old West and in the mode of travel, but he has witnessed great changes even in the natural phenomena in Yellowstone Park. He has seen new geysers spring up and old ones cease eruptions. He has watched the continuous changes come over the terraces of the Hot Springs at Mammoth. At the time he first arrived he remembers Jupiter Terrace as a vast hill overflowing on all sides with water and massed with color. He has watched springs bubble up and die out, and others come up to replace them. He recalls periods when the highway running parallel with the terraces below the springs was inundated by the rush of water and the settling of travertine that was left behind. The mystery and beauty of the park are never-ending, however, the judge feels. Always there is the same natural beauty, the same wondering power of a divine being who has transformed on earth here a beauty spot that is the awe of nations.

Speaking briefly of his family, Judge Meldrum pointed out that he and Mrs. Meldrum had never had any children. Thus, with the passing of Mrs. Meldrum, his nearest living relatives are two nieces. One, Miss Susie A. Meldrum of Denver, has frequently made her home with the judge in Yellowstone

Park. Often in the dead of winter he has left the park to spend a few months with her in her Denver home. Another niece, Mrs. Evelyn M. Downie, now lives in Brainerd, Minn. She was married in the home occupied by the Commissioner here in the park, and her first child was born there. Her husband was at that time the auditor for the Northern Pacific railway when that company owned the park hotels."

### **Last Days in Park**

For several years prior to his resigning his position as United States Commissioner, Judge Meldrum spent some time each winter receiving treatment at the Army & Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Arkansas. He left the park on October 23, 1935, en route to Buffalo, Wyoming, to visit with his nephew, Jack Meldrum, and then he expected to go to Denver and visit with his niece, Miss Susie A. Meldrum. From Denver he planned to again go to Hot Springs for treatment at the Army & Navy Hospital.

Two nights prior to his departure from the park I visited with Judge Meldrum and witnessed his signature to his will. He had great difficulty in trying to write his name but he finally succeeded, using his left hand. He had practiced for some time to write his name with his left hand so that he would be able to place his signature on the will at the proper time. While his mental faculties apparently were as good as ever it was evident that he was failing physically. His hearing had improved a trifle but his eyes were going back on him and there was a possibility he would have an operation on his eyes when he got to Hot Springs. However, it was doubtful if the doctors would have attempted such an operation, because of his age.

The Sunday prior to Judge Meldrum's departure from the park, Reverend Lewis D. Smith, Episcopal Minister from Livingston, Montana, conducted services at the Mammoth Chapel in honor of Judge Meldrum and Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Lindsley, who were also leaving the park, and the honor apparently pleased the Judge very much. This was the first service he had attended for some time and it was a thrill to watch him as he stood erect, like a soldier, and sang every word of the four stanzas of "AMERICA."

### **The Passing**

Following his departure from the park the latter part of October, (1935) Judge Meldrum spent about three months visiting with his nephew in Buffalo, Wyoming and arrived in Denver late in January, 1936. From the time of his arrival until his death he had not been well enough to undertake the trip that he had planned to Hot Springs, Arkansas. He had, however,



been more or less up and around. On February 24 he had insisted on going down town to the office of the Collector of Interval Revenue and a neighbor had driven him down. The following day he was very tired and was lying down listening to the radio when he heard a broadcast regarding the death of Roger W. Toll, Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, in an automobile accident at Deming, New Mexico. Mr. Toll was a great favorite of the Judge and the news evidently greatly unnerved him and he became very much depressed by it. That evening he asked his niece to read him the twenty-third Psalm and he was displeased with her delay in laying her hands on the Bible. The next day the Judge was very depressed and was breathing laboriously. He did not get up. Late in the day his niece called a doctor, who said that the Judge was suffering from shock and the only thing to do for him was to keep him as quiet as possible. The following morning, February 27, his niece went to see him before she got breakfast. He was breathing more easily and sleeping quietly. A little later she went into his room to see if he was awake for breakfast and found he had passed away—apparently without moving since she had previously observed him.

Funeral services were conducted by Dean Roberts of St. Johns Episcopal Cathedral at the Rogers Mortuary in Denver on Saturday, February 29, (1936) followed by cremation. The pallbearers were all National Park Service men, in uniform, and consisted of Thomas J. Allen, Superintendent of Hot Springs National Park; El T. Scoyen, Superintendent of Glacier National Park; J. W. Emmert, Assistant Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park; Herbert Maier, Regional State Park officer; Ray C. Baxter, United States Commissioner, Rocky Mountain National Park; and Walter Finn, Park Ranger, Rocky Mountain National Park.

The End.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY  
C. G. COUTANT, PIONEER HISTORIAN,  
AND HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter XII

**Laramie County**

**Cheyenne Continued—Trains over the U. P.—Early Visitors—Geo. Francis Train—Taxes—Arnold's School Project—Dedication of the First School House, etc.—Troublesome Times Again—Organization of the Vigilantes—Tim Dyer—Doings of the Desperadoes.**

Having traced the changes in municipal and county governments down through their various stages from the provisional to legally established governments under the Laws of the Territory of Wyoming, the reader is now invited to go back to the beginning of 1868 from which date the history of events unconnected with governmental affairs will be resumed.

As has already been seen, the Union Pacific Railroad was completed to Cheyenne on the 13th day of November, 1867, and on the day following the first passenger train arrived in the city.

As mention has been so far as possible of those who first reached the site of the city by "overland" or rather in wagons, horseback and on foot, it might be well to mention here some of the first arrivals by rail. Among those who reached Cheyenne November 14, 1867, by rail were Sidney Dillon, Major J. D. Wooley, Superintendent Street of the Wells Fargo & Co.'s Express, Freight Superintendent Snyder of the U. P. R. R., Col. J. L. Lewis, Edward Creighton, and many others. G. A. Wood was the conductor of the train and its arrival was made the occasion of a public demonstration at which much enthusiasm was manifested. The first freight train which arrived a day or two later, was brought through in charge of Conductor S. L. Smith.

There were many visitors of note to Cheyenne in those early days, among whom were Generals Sherman and Sheridan, Chester A. Arthur, since President of the United States, Father De Smet, and many others of more or less note. While in Cheyenne in 1868 Father De Smet made mention of the fact that in 1838 he camped one night on the present site of the City of Cheyenne while on one of his periodical trips to the northern country.

Geo. Francis Train also paid Cheyenne a visit very early in its history and conceived the project of building a mammoth hotel and even formed a company and commenced operations. The foundation for the new building having been put in and

the walls (which were to have been of stone) partly built, but the project soon fell through for want of funds so that except in the prolific mind of Mr. Train the building never had an existence. It was to have been built south of the railroad track --a short distance from where the Railroad Hotel (now the Pacific House)\* was eventually erected.

It will, of course, be remembered by the reader that at this time, there was no form of government in Cheyenne except the provisional one established by the people themselves. There were a few things which the provisional government could do and there were many things it could not do. Among the latter was the collection of taxes. A levy could be made and a proposition regarding this was twice made and discarded by the city council but nothing came of it for no attempt was ever made to levy and collect taxes for municipal purposes.

Fortunately, however, the law abiding citizens of Cheyenne were not averse to contributing to the support of any good and worthy enterprise, and such having been their sentiment when the proposition was made to establish and open a school which should be open to "all rich or poor, black or white," they regarded it with favor.

Being encouraged by what appeared to be the public sentiment, Mr. M. A. Arnold, then and now a resident of Cheyenne, assisted by his wife, Mrs. M. A. Arnold, a public spirited Christian lady, undertook the task of raising funds by subscription among those who were willing to contribute for the purpose of building a school house, and opening a school. Although the task was in some respects not an enviable one, Mr. Arnold was successful, and at length the sum of \$2,500 was raised. With this fund a school house of moderate size was built a short distance north of where the Charton livery stable at present stands, and preparations were at once made to dedicate it as a "free school where neither politics nor religion should cut any figure".

The services of W. W. Corlett, Esq., the rising and popular "favorite son" of Cheyenne, were secured to deliver the oration, and Dr. Geo. H. Russell was engaged to read an essay. The dedicatory exercises were held on February 7, 1868,† and were attended by many hundreds of people.

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\*Immediately east of the present Union Pacific Station.

†There seems to be a discrepancy in Mr. Coutant's date of the dedication, as the following article from the CHEYENNE LEADER of January 6, 1868, verifies the date as being January 5, 1868.

"A large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of this city congregated at the new school building on Nineteenth Street, last evening, to witness the dedicatory exercises upon the occasion of the completion of the first school edifice in this city. The evening was bitter cold, the thermometer indicating twenty-three degrees below zero, but notwithstanding this, the large room was densely crowded with an anxious assemblage of our best citizens. We doubt not that nearly all present felt that it was 'good to be there,' and were

In the oration delivered by Mr. Corlett on that occasion he favorably and eloquently impressed upon the minds of the people the fact that free schools ever had been and ever would be the enduring bulwark of our National liberties.

The essay by Dr. Russell was somewhat in the same strain. The following Monday, February 9, Mr. Arnold, assisted by his wife, opened a school in the new building having nearly one hundred pupils in attendance.

Notwithstanding the fact that the "Committee of Safety," composed, as it was, of many of the best men in the community (and of whom mention has been heretofore made) had all along since its organization been rendering the provisional government valuable assistance in preserving order in the city. The number of desperadoes and "thugs" had largely increased since the city was first laid out and established, so that early in 1868 it is no exaggeration to say that they could be numbered by the hundreds.

The members of the committee were in the main active business men who had their individual affairs to attend to and hence could not devote as much time to the interests of the community as at first, for business of all kinds was then very prosperous in Cheyenne, and they each, of course, had "an eye to the main chance." They had never asked, expected or received any compensation for their services, but were nevertheless willing to act and did act whenever their services were required, but as before stated the period had arrived when they could devote but little time to the interests of the city.

For this reason, and also for the further reason, that mainly through the unwarranted and overdrawn pictures of "Cheyenne life" which had been sent abroad by a certain class of newspaper correspondents who had visited Cheyenne, and who were for less than nothing, unless sensational, tho't Cheyenne was a good place for a certain class of people "fit for treasures, strategems and spoils" to come to. A new and disreputable group of hard characters began to flock into the city shortly prior to the beginning of the year.

Among this class were the notorious "Shorty" Jack Hays, "Dirty Mike," Andy Harris, Charles Martin and many others

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forcibly impressed with the importance of the undertaking, and that therein lies the germ that is speedily to grow to a giant, in moral effects, that shall, at an early day, redeem our city from the rule of crime and vice."

The site is now occupied by the Cheyenne Hardware Company, at the southwest corner of the inter-section at Carey Avenue and Nineteenth Street. On the north side of the building is attached a bronze plaque, size about 18 x 24 inches, inscribed as follows:

"Site of First Public School in Wyoming  
Dedicated January 5, 1868  
Cheyenne School Pupils  
1933"



who were almost continually plundering and robbing whenever an opportunity presented itself. "Dirty Mike," however, was not as bad as his name would suggest and his rascality mainly took the form of attempting to shoot or kill somebody. He was a member of the police when he first came to the city, but as soon as his real character came to be understood he was unceremoniously discharged—acquiring his peculiar name thereafter.

Early in January, 1868, a U. S. Paymaster—Gen. Dandy—was robbed of \$5,000. between Cheyenne and Ft. Russell, and later on several robberies of a bold character were committed within the city limits. To illustrate the situation in this respect the case of an old man named Lee should be alluded to. Lee, who was pretty well advanced in years, had been a soldier in the Confederate Army during the war of the Rebellion, and for this reason the "boys" universally called him "General" Lee. He was a quiet, inoffensive old man, but was at times much addicted to strong drink, and having been paid off as a railroad employee he went around the city one day in the winter of '67-'68 with \$250 in his pocket which he foolishly exhibited while paying for his previous drinks, and, as it afterwards was ascertained, he was shadowed and followed by a couple of desperadoes. Tim Dyer at that time kept a fashionable saloon on Eddy Street and directly south of the building in which the Pearse Drug Store is now (1886) kept. To this place the old "General" came late at night and asked Mr. Dyer to protect him. He was told to come in and he would be protected after which the place was cleared for the night, and the door locked. Presently two men came to the door and rapped, one of them asserting that he was very sick and wanted a drink. Thinking that it was some of his regular customers Dyer opened the door, when in walked two men—pretty hard looking citizens—one of whom was recognized as being one of the worst and most dangerous of desperadoes, although his name was not known. The desperadoes got their drinks, when the one alluded to inquired who the old man was. He was informed that his name was Lee and that he was an employe on the railroad, and in answer to the question whether he had any money with him Mr. Dyer informed them that he did not know, but that it was none of their business whether he had or not.

"Well" said the foremost villian "he has got \$250 and I have been following him all day and I am going to have that money or die in the attempt to get it." This was enough for Dyer—war was declared at once, the result being that both desperadoes were driven from the place though both were armed. The old "General," who had been a trembling spectator of the encounter, afterwards showed his money—a trifle over \$227. This incident is given as illustrating the desperate

and dangerous character of the rascals who then infested the city in large numbers. Many others of a similar character might be mentioned, but the foregoing must suffice for the present.

The population of the city had by this time increased to nearly 7000 and the place was also full of transient men who were coming and going every day, and who are not included among those represented by the foregoing figures.

A variety theatre had been started by James McDaniel on Eddy Street on the present site of the "McDaniel Block" now owned and occupied by E. A. Slack, editor and proprietor of the Cheyenne Daily and Weekly Sun as a printing office, etc., and shortly after others were started also and at one time in the history of Cheyenne there were as many as four of these institutions in the city, all running at the same time. In addition to the Variety Theatre and saloons, dance houses were also started, which, together with the numerous gaming establishments that had been opened, and certain other houses which need not be mentioned here, constituted a multitude of places of resort into and through which there constantly thronged a motley crowd composed to a large extent in those days of a very unsavory and disreputable element.

When these matters are considered at the present time we cannot wonder why it was that an agency above and beyond the law itself was invoked in order that life and property might be protected and the city relieved of its burden of thieves, cutthroats, plunderers and robbers.

### Chapter XIII

### Laramie County

**Cheyenne Continued—Law Enforcement—The Vigilantes Organized in January, 1868, with a Membership of 200, known as "Gunny Sack Brigade," Effective in Eliminating Desperadoes—The Town's Biggest Liar—Vigilantes Told No Tales.**

Where the law is supreme and unobstructed and can be promptly and efficiently enforced, lynch law is never justifiable and should never be resorted to. Where, however, the authorities are powerless to act—or if they do so act with public enemies openly or covertly—then it sometimes happens that lynch law is the only apparently practicable way by which life and property can be protected, then the case is far different, but even then should never be resorted to until all other means have been tried and found unavailing.

He who should either by voice or pen assert or insinuate that there ever was a time in the history of Cheyenne when its authorities operated openly or covertly—or were in the slightest

degree in sympathy—with the lawless element which was such a wretched and unholy burden to the city during the early days, would be little else than a libeller and a gross falsifyer. There may have been an instance or two where subordinate officers sympathized or acted with this rabble, but so soon as that fact was ascertained or suspected, the guilty parties were immediately—if an inelegant phrase will be pardoned—"fired out," or in other words, removed. The noble men who composed the advance guard and who struggled so long and faithfully to preserve law and good government in Cheyenne, many of whose names are mentioned in this record of events, never did prove untrue in the slightest degree to the best interests of their fellow citizens. But while this is the case, however, it would not be doing injustice in any quarter to say that at the beginning of the year 1868 the local authorities, aided though they were by the "Committee of Safety," were not able to afford such a degree of protection to the people as they were entitled to at the hands of somebody, and, as the sequel shows, the somebody needed was found among the people themselves.

The organization of the Vigilantes is, of course, what is meant. It should be stated, however, that as no one has ever yet been found who cared to admit that he was a member of the "gunny sack brigade" as it was sometimes called, but little can be said of how, when or through whose individual agency the organization was formed. Practical results alone are available.

The Vigilantes were first organized about the middle of January 1868, and numbered some 200 men at the outset, which number was considerably increased later on. The leader of the organization—or one of them at least—was a man named Warren, who long ago ceased to be a resident of Cheyenne. Usually when the Vigilantes turned out for active service they wore soldier's overcoats, which in those days were not hard to obtain. For masks they usually had pulled over their heads gunny sacks with convenient holes cut therein for the eyes. From this fact the term "gunny sack brigade" was applied to them.

A large share of the very effectual work done by this organization was on the quiet. The members of the "brigade" would very quietly "spot" their man, and in nearly every instance he would be quietly waited upon by some one in the secrets of the organization who would advise him that his health would probably be much improved by a trip to—well, somewhere. If the person waited upon was wise he never waited to be advised of this fact the second time. If he refused to go the next experience he would have would be something like this: He would, perhaps, be in some saloon at night taking a drink

with a friend when someone would very gently tap him on the shoulder with the remark "say pard there's a gentleman just outside who would like to speak with you a moment." In obedience to this summons the victim would step outside and perhaps a rod or two around the next corner only to find himself in the presence of scores of masked men. Not a word would be said except the simple and quiet remark, "come with us." No explanation or promises were of any avail at that stage of the proceedings, and almost without a word the hilarious and brutal villian would be taken out to the edge of the city where a rope with a telegraph pole, or, for the want of something better, a wagon tongue fastened up at an angle of forty-five degrees would do the work in short order.

When the ways and methods of this Vigilante organization once became known they struck such a terror to the hearts of the cutthroats, thieves and plunderers who swarmed about the city in the early months of the year 1868, that hundreds of them disappeared never to return to the "Magic City of the Plains" again.

It always has been, and, of course, is now, impossible to give the names of the victims or even the number that were summarily disposed of by the "gunny sack brigade" during the year 1868, but those who were residents of Cheyenne at the time nearly all agree that there were as many as twenty at least, and that hundreds, even, were driven out of the city.

Among the first of the victims of the Vigilantes was a young man named Charles Martin who had a young wife and one child—a boy—in Missouri, but who prior to his advent in Cheyenne had shot and killed several men. He arrived in Cheyenne almost as soon as the town was started and almost immediately thereafter was accused of being implicated in the robbery of General Dandy of the sum of \$5,000. A man named Jones was also accused of assisting in the robbery. With the money thus, or in some other equally disreputable way obtained, Martin and Jones built Beauvis Hall, but after awhile got into a quarrel which resulted in the shooting and killing of Jones by Martin. This occurred in February, 1868. Martin was at once arrested and for want of a secure place to confine him he was placed in charge of an officer who had to take him around the streets with a ball and chain attached to one of his feet. When the March term of court convened Martin was indicted for murder and put on trial, but through some bogus process which the jury might have misunderstood he was acquitted. W. W. Corlett assisted in the prosecution of the case for which Martin swore he would have revenge.

After he had been discharged from custody Martin bought a plug hat and later on the same day, March 19, he procured a livery team and went driving around the city with a couple



of women as his companions. J. W. Slaughter, afterwards city marshal who had known Martin prior to his arrival in Cheyenne, took Martin to one side and advised him to be careful or he would get himself into trouble. He paid no attention to the warning and toward night while taking a drink in at McDaniel's theatre on Eddy Street Martin exclaimed "By —— I'll have Corlett for breakfast in the morning as sure as my name is Martin."

That night Martin went into a dance house which stood on the site of the brick building between the Carey Block and the Knights of Pythias building on Seventeenth Street, and while in there someone tapped him on the shoulder and asked him to step to the door for a moment. He did so and found 200 masked men waiting to "see" him. As soon as it became known in the dance hall what was going on, people began jumping out of the windows and scampering for the back door, so that in three minutes there was not a soul left in the building except the fiddler who, perched on a dry goods box at the north end of the hall, kept sawing away, too drunk to comprehend the real situation.

In spite of Martin's protest and promises he was marched away by the "brigade" who took him to a point just east of where the Warren Emporium now stands, Capitol and 16th, where he was hanged to a telegraph pole which had been set in the ground there for some purpose. Martin's protests and lamentations were heard clear over to a point on Seventeenth Street just east of the residence of Governor Warren. It was claimed that Martin confessed to the robbery of Gen. Dandy, but this is somewhat doubtful. Mr. Corlett, who had heard neither of the threats Martin had made nor of his hanging, was very much surprised the next morning, but did not give way to uncontrollable paroxysms of grief over the affair.

Of course, not all of the hard characters then in Cheyenne received the special attention of the Vigilantes, for many of them were so guarded in their disreputable work that they were not generally known, and many matters which occurred during the "vigilante days" were not considered of such importance as to demand and receive attention from the members of the "brigade."

Among the "small fry" disreputables was "Dirty Mike" who acquired his peculiar name—not from his personal habits regarding cleanliness—but from the multitude of mean things he was known to do and —— then he would shoot at the "drop of the hat" if occasion required. Coming into Tim Dyer's place late one night he demanded a loan of five dollars which the proprietor refused to give him until he paid up an old debt which he owed at that place. "Mike" at the time had his revolver drawn and before Dyer could get his, Mike had

his own pointed at Dyer's head. He had the "drop" on the proprietor, but still failed to get the money. A few nights later he came in again and a good opportunity presenting itself Dyer hit him, knocking Mike about twenty feet, and before he could recover himself Dyer had his revolver pointed where it would do the most harm. In obedience to orders which he then received Mike departed and never troubled that place again. At length he got so badly demoralized that he ceased to be dangerous, and devoted the greater part of his time to drinking whiskey and quarreling with his wife. Being acquainted with Judge Kuykendall, then Judge of Probate and ex-officio Justice of the Peace, Mike would rush to his office every time he had a row with his wife and demand a warrant. At such times the Judge would quiet him down, give him a little advice, and send him back up with his wife. Finally one day Mike came rushing in, his face all covered with blood, and exclaimed "that settles it" and explained that he had been engaged in another row with his wife. The Judge wanted to know who got the worst of it. "Who got the worst of it" exclaimed Mike, "why just look at me; don't my countenance show for itself? And I tell you what it is; this matter can't be fixed up again. My wife is a regular son of a gun—why Judge that ain't all; she's the biggest liar in the territory. She's a bigger —— liar than either you or I."

The Judge thought the joke was too good to keep, and finally told it on himself.

"Sleepy Bill" was another character similar to Mike, and his exploits would, if put in print, make a book of itself. Finally Bill and other hard cases, were made the subject of a special order by the Vigilantes to leave the city, and they did so.

Along in February, 1868, a row occurred on O'Neil Street (then one of the principal streets of the city) in which three men were shot and badly injured. The shooting was done by a regular organized band of roughs who were just then, however, being looked after by the Vigilantes. There was quite a large number of respectable citizens near at hand when the row took place, and some of them interfered against the desperadoes, one of whom was Dan Cunningham, an exceedingly hard character. After the affair was over some thirteen or fourteen of the respectable element present came down to Eddy Street and into Dyer's place to get some drinks, etc. Cunningham and a large party of roughs followed and commenced firing through the windows and doors. The place was cleared almost instantly, the crowd rushing out the back door. Tim Dyer, however, stood his ground and got a bullet through his coat. The next morning forty-eight bullets were picked up on the floor or dug out of the walls, and benches in the bar room. The next night the roughs put up a job to kill Mr. Dyer, but be-

fore they made their appearance at his place the west side of Eddy Street was lined with Vigilantes—more than two hundred in number—and all wearing soldiers' overcoats.

The Vigilantes, who had been put on the track of the Cunningham desperadoes for some time, at length succeeded in wiping out that gang entirely. Cunningham and several others were run out of the city, barely escaping with their lives, but they did not all of them fare so well. Getting track of the direction they had taken, nearly one hundred of the Vigilantes followed them to Dale Creek City—at present composed of two "dugouts" and a cellar hole, but then being a place of six hundred inhabitants—about forty miles west of Cheyenne, where three of the gang "Shorty", Jack Hays, and Jim Kief, were captured, and unceremoniously strung up to the nearest tree. The balance of this disreputable outfit made good their escape.

"Oh yes," said a reliable old timer in Cheyenne in the fall of 1885, in answer to a question asked of him by the writer, "Oh yes, there were a good many rascals hung by the Vigilantes in the Vigilante days, of whom we knew but very little, much less their names. Do you see away up Seventeenth Street where Fred Addams' house stands? Well, I saw one morning five fellows hanging up there in a row to the wagon-tongues of a camping outfit which had been propped up at the right angle for that especial occasion. I don't know who they were. It was none of my business, and you can bet your life I asked no questions."

And so it was in those days. The Vigilantes would string up the desperadoes, and other people did not care to be too inquisitive in regard to the doings of the "brigade" and, of course, the members of the vigilance committee "told no tales out of school," nor did they ever even years afterwards, for obvious reasons, care to say very much about their operations at that time.

A careful investigation has failed to discover, however, a single instance in which the early day Vigilantes ever made a mistake, and hung up an innocent man, as is too often the case with organizations of this sort.

For some months after the Dale Creek raid the Vigilantes continued to remain on the alert, and from time to time gave out word, or issued "orders" as they were called at that time, to certain parties to leave the city, and these orders were almost in every instance promptly obeyed. In several instances where parties were arrested and tried for the commission of some offence, and for some reason acquitted or discharged, the Vigilantes would take the matter up where the authorities left off, and the offender promptly run out of the city.

A desperado named Musgrove from Denver, hovered around Cheyenne from time to time in those early days, but always succeeded in keeping out of the reach not only of the vigilance committee, but of the officers of the law, who frequently had papers in their hands for his arrest on heinous charges against him in Colorado. Finally, however, he was arrested some distance out on the Ft. Laramie road by Frank Hunter, one of the several U. S. Marshals in Cheyenne at that time—N. J. O'Brien and J. L. Laird also being officers of this kind—and taken to Denver. On arriving in Denver a mob took Musgrove out of Hunter's custody and hung him on the Cherry Creek bridge.

As mention has elsewhere been made of the first election under the laws of Dakota for county and city officers, and the result given, it need not be referred to again. We will hasten to consider important events occurring in the year 1869.

#### Chapter XIV

### Laramie County

#### **Cheyenne Becomes a Permanent City—Business Established — Indian Troubles — Douglas Killed — Denver-Pacific Railroad Construction Begun—Members of First Legislative Assembly Elected.**

When the spring of 1869 arrived Cheyenne was at the zenith of its early day glory, in many respects at least. The city had attained very considerable properties, business of all kinds was good, and many of its citizens were fast amassing wealth, and fortunes were being made in spite of the difficulties through which the people of the city had struggled. They had placed Cheyenne upon a firm and reliable basis, and it had already been demonstrated that although the Union Pacific Railroad might push westward "The Magic City of the Plains" would not move on with it, but that it would remain on the banks of Crow Creek, and eventually be one of the most important towns of the far west, as it already was of the embryo territory as yet not fully organized. To be sure, Cheyenne had a dark side as we have already seen, but the great mass of its people at that time were honest, industrious, energetic and ambitious, and the future seemed bright and hopeful. Many substantial buildings had been erected, and many more were in prospect. A large and lucrative freighting business from Cheyenne to the northern military posts and elsewhere had already sprung up. A large number of enterprising business men, among whom might be mentioned, S. F. Nuckolls, A. R. Converse, E. Nagle, Benjamin Hillman, F. E. Warren, Henry Altman, H. H. Ellis, S. A. Bristol, M. E. Post, A. G. McGregor,



I. C. Whipple, D. F. Whipple, Henry Houseman, (Here several lines of blank space in the manuscript evidence the author's intention to add other names.—Ed.) and many others had arrived in the city, and were already actively engaged in mercantile and other pursuits. A term of court under the laws of Dakota had already been held, and Cheyenne already had a bar which would compare favorably with that at Omaha, or Denver, such lawyers as W. W. Corlett, E. P. Johnson, T. J. Street, I. W. Cook, W. J. Miller, H. Garbanti, J. R. Whitehead, W. L. Kuykendall being among its members.

The medical profession was also ably represented by Dr. G. W. Corey, Dr. Geo. H. Russell, (Here a line of blank space was left in the manuscript for additional names.—Ed.) and others—gentlemen who thoroughly understood the science of medicine, and practiced it successfully. The city then had three newspapers well edited by competent newspaper men. The Western Union and the Union Pacific telegraph lines were, of course, completed and in running order to the city. Work had been started leading southward on what, in less than a year, became the Denver Pacific R. R. connecting Cheyenne with the metropolis of Colorado, and ere the summer wore away the Cheyenne and Iron Mountain R. R. Company was organized for the purpose of connecting the "Magic City" by rail with the north.

Such were the prospects and situation at the beginning of the year 1869 after a somewhat less eventful winter than the one which preceded it—prospects destined to be temporarily blighted, however, in some respects by the soon-to-come stampede of a large portion of its floating and transient population westward as the Union Pacific was gradually extended in that direction.

During the summer of 1869 Cheyenne was again agitated and alarmed upon the Indian question, and much apprehension was at times felt for the safety of the city. The Sioux, who had never ceased entirely from committing depredations in the northern region of the country, had been attracted to the line of the Union Pacific by the many opportunities which were afforded them of making raids on isolated parties of graders, etc., and had in the main confined their depredations to that quarter since the spring of 1868, and as has already been seen, made much trouble for the people living in and around Cheyenne in the summer and autumn of 1867. From that time they made frequent raids across the railroad track some distance east of Cheyenne, and committed many depredations in northern Colorado. They even made their appearance a number of times in the vicinity of Ft. Collins, Colorado. At length they turned their attention in the direction of Cheyenne and came alarmingly near to it several times.

On the 16th of August, 1869, a man named Douglas who was out to the southeast of the city and but a short distance from where now stands the packing house operated by W. H. Lowe & Co., and while there was suddenly attacked by a small party of Indians who rode rapidly up from a point where they had been concealed behind the bluff. He was hit by as many as three arrows, one of which went through his right arm. He fell to the ground and was scalped by the Indians who supposing him to be dead rode swiftly back across and beyond the bluffs.

Persons who had observed the tragic event from a distance immediately gave the alarm and a strong party well armed sallied forth. When Douglas was found, although scalped, he was not dead, but died soon after being brought into the city. This affair created great alarm and a meeting was called for the purpose of organizing a military company for protection, as it was apprehended that the Sioux might make a sudden dash into the city while the people were unprepared, and perhaps murder large numbers of people and burn the town before the troops from Ft. Russell could come to the rescue. The result of the meeting was that a military company was organized of which Judge Kuykendall—a man who was ever equal to any emergency—was made the captain, and for some weeks after, a portion of this company were on the alert both day and night. The Indians, however, did not venture to attack the town though they made their appearance on the bluffs south of the city several times later in the season.

Many depredations, however, were committed not far away and during the summer and fall of that year not less than thirty people were killed within a radius of fifty miles of Cheyenne, a large majority of them being men engaged in grading and other work for the railroad company—several, however, being men at work on the D. P. R. R., the construction of which from Cheyenne southward toward Denver was pushed vigorously during the summer and fall of 1869. By the 1st of December this road was completed to Evans, Colorado, so that Cheyenne had communication by rail with that place during the winter of '69-'70. The next season it was finished to Denver.

The result of the election for members of the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming held September 2nd, 1869, in compliance with the proclamation of Governor Campbell issued August 3d has already been given. While it is not the intention to give much prominence to political campaigns in this work—which in the early history of the territory and county were very bitter, although political lines were not always, nor at present for that matter, very strictly observed—yet the first congressional campaign in Laramie County was such a remarkable one in some respects that a correct history of those early days would not be complete were it to be omitted.

The Democratic party placed in nomination as their candidate for delegate in Congress (for a one year term only) Hon. S. F. Nuckolls, one of the leading business men of the territory, and well known throughout its entire extent. He was capable and honest, and was also quite wealthy.

The Republicans for the same position put forward Hon. W. W. Corlett, the most able and brilliant member of the bar in the territory, who had made considerable money since his advent in Cheyenne where he then (as now) had his residence. Mr. Corlett was rather averse to entering the political field, but having been nominated by the Republicans of Dakota as their candidate for territorial auditor (an elective office at that time in Dakota) and because of the organization of Wyoming territory he consented to run as the candidate for delagate in Congress against his better judgment, probably for the reason that the Dakota nomination which he had been obliged to forego had awakened in his mind certain political aspirations.

The campaign which ensued (members of the legislature being voted for also) was very bitter, and to all outward appearances a very close one. Why it was, or how it originally came about is hard to explain or understand at this late day, but before the campaign had progressed very far money began to be freely used, and this fact has had an effect and an influence in politics in Wyoming from which it has never recovered. Both candidates went through the territory and made speeches to large crowds of people, but the most effectual work was done in a more quiet way.

In Cheyenne great meetings were held nearly every night, and music, speeches and bonfires served to enthuse the multitude to a wonderful extent, who would cheer themselves hoarse, but later on could scarcely explain what the cheering was for. Tom would cheer because Harry did, and Dick would cheer for the reason that the two gentlemen first mentioned had given vent to their feelings in voiceful clamor. On one occasion while Mr. Corlett was making a speech a crowd of political opponents who stood some distance away commenced to cry "put him out, put him out" etc. Corlett stopped short in his speech and turning to the presiding genius of the occasion Dr. G. W. Corey, exclaimed "Mr. Chairman, the scriptures tell us that if we ever get to heaven we must be born again. Well, I presume this is so, and that those fellows over there (pointing to the crowd) will be found in the same boat with the rest of the human family. There is one thing I hope, however, and that is, if those fellows are ever born again, they will all be still born."

The members of the crowd to which the speaker alluded were not heard from again on that occasion. The result of the

election, however, was averse to Mr. Corlett, his opponent being elected by a large majority. Below, the number of votes cast in each county in the territory is given:

|                       | Corlett | Nuckolls |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|
| Albany County         | 320     | 515      |
| Carbon County         | 190     | 389      |
| Laramie County        | 722     | 886      |
| Sweetwater County     | 593     | 862      |
| Uinta County          | 138     | 679      |
| Total                 | 1963    | 3331     |
| Majority for Nuckolls |         | 1368     |

After the election was over each side accused the other of fraud and some very uncomplimentary things were said pro and con, but the bitterness engendered by the spirited contest soon died away, and was in time entirely forgotten.

The official census as taken by governmental authority in the summer of 1870 is herewith given.

|                        |      |
|------------------------|------|
| Laramie County         | 2965 |
| Albany County          | 2022 |
| Sweetwater County      | 1916 |
| Carbon County          | 1368 |
| Uinta County           | 857  |
| Total in the territory | 9126 |

(To be Continued)



**"FOR THE LADIES"**

(From THE BENTON RECORD, Fort Benton, Montana, Friday, March 27, 1878)

The newest silver tea-sets are "square shaped."

Knitted petticoats increase in favor, especially for children.

New bracelets are serpents of gold or silver, with bright jewels for eyes.

Irish tapestry is the new ecru, and brown linen, used for furniture covers and lambrequins.

A woman of Dunferline, Scotland, has just died of drinking strong tea and another is dying.

Transparent sleeves are so fashionable that grenadine sleeves will be made this summer without lining.

La Creole is the most stylish breakfast cap worn. This is made of a gay striped silk handkerchief and trimmed with lace.

Rich India colors are seen in all the new spring goods; in percales and cambrics as well as in the more expensive materials.

If a girl has a hankering to plunge into matrimony, let her get a situation in a dressmaking establishment, remarks an old bach.

Cut-away jackets, with short skirts, were originally introduced for school girls, but ladies of a larger growth have also adopted them, and have made them popular.

Caterpillar fringe is imported for trimming spring suits. This fringe has secured its name by having inch-long cable cords covered with shaded yellow or green floss.

A new style of note paper is in the shape of a card, in the left corner of which is an open fan, each stick having a letter on, which together spell the day of the week.

The silk and wool mixture of overdresses are what merchants consider genuine bourettes, though the name has become common on any material with rough threads.

There is no sort of company so agreeable as that of women who have good sense without affectation, and can converse with men without any design of imposing chains and fetters.

The "Fra Diavolo" is the newest round hat for spring. This stylish shape is trimmed a little on one side and is becoming to most faces.

Box plaited flounces of medium depth, ornamented with rows of Tom Thumb fringe, appear on the front breadths of the latest improved dresses.

Woolen stuffs of light weight for early spring wear are very soft and flexible, though they have rough threads raised

above the surface in long horizontal dashes, or as if tied in knots, or else boucle in small round rings, curls, or frizzed ends.

Among the new spring goods just received are many materials with a rough surface, much like those worn this winter, but much lighter. An odd combination of colors seen in these goods is pale blue and olive green—the groundwork of pale blue and the rough threads of the other color.

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## ACCESSIONS

to the

### WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

January 1, 1941, to March 31, 1941.

#### Books -- Gifts

Banning, William—Six Horses. 1930.

Gift of the author.

Donnelly, Thomas C.—Rocky Mountain Politics. 1940. Gift of Dr. Henry J. Peterson, Laramie, Wyoming.

Ferris, Warren A.—Life in the Rocky Mountains. 1940. Gift of Fred A. Rosenstock, Denver, Colorado.

Gage, Jack—Geography of Wyoming. 1940. Gift of author.

Peterson, Henry J.—The Constitutional Convention of Wyoming. Gift of the author.

Rankin, M. Wilson—Reminiscences of Frontier Days. 1935. Gift of the author.

Union Pacific Coal Company—History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines, 1869-1940. Gift of the author.

Voth, Hazel Hunt—Yellowstone National Park. A Bibliography. 1940. Gift of the Yellowstone Library and Museum Association.

Wentworth, Col. Ed. N.—Historical Phases of the Sheep Industry of Wyoming. 1940. Gift of the author.

Yellowstone Highway Association—Official Route Book of the Yellowstone Highway Association. Gift of the author.

#### Books -- Purchased

Fremont, John Charles—Fremont. Memoirs of My Life. 1887.

King, Captain Charles—Laramie, or Queen of Bedlam, the Story of the Sioux War. 1889.

King, Captain Charles—Trumpeter Fred, A Story of the Plains. 1896.

Morris, Robert C.—Collections of the Wyoming Historical Society. 1897. Autographed by Wm. A. Richards, Governor of Wyoming in 1895-1899.

Nevins, Allan—Fremont, the West's Greatest Adventurer. 1928.

Renaud, E. B.—Classification and Description of Indian Stone Artifacts. 1941.

Russell, Osborne—Journal of a Trapper, or Nine Years in the Rocky Mountains, 1834-1843. 1921.

Ward, Louisa A.—Chalk Creek, Colorado (The Old Western Series No. 9.) 1940.

**Pictures -- Gifts**

- Office of Live Stock & Sanitary Board, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Large framed photograph of Yellowstone Park scenes, taken by William H. Jackson, in 1892. 28" x 5 ft. 4½".
- Dubois, William, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Photograph of Esther Morris, Mother of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming, in oval walnut frame; 16" x 19".
- Howard, L. B., Rock Springs, Wyoming—Framed Lithograph from the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1867.
- Rowley, Edward, Douglas, Wyoming—Picture of miniature reproduction of old Fort Fetterman, made by donor. 2¾" x 6½".
- Johnson, William Templeton, 3255 Front Street, San Diego, California—Picture of Trading Post of J. W. Dear, Red Cloud Agency, eastern Wyoming, on Horse Creek at Nebraska line. In the 1870's. 10" x 12".
- Gereke, A. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Picture cut of Percy Hoyt, 4" x 6" 1904.

**Miscellaneous Gifts**

- Smith, Governor Nels H., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Bound volume of the 1917 issues of the Daily Capital Journal, Pierre, South Dakota; bound volume of the 1905 issues of Pierre Daily Dakotan.
- Howard, L. B., 89 Pine Street, Rock Springs, Wyoming—A small whiskey bottle found by the donor many years ago, and presumed by him to be from the days of the Old Pony Express; size 4½" x 3¼".
- St. Paul Public Library, St. Paul, Minnesota—Register, leather bound, of old Inter-Ocean Hotel, Cheyenne, Wyoming, from February 4, 1898, to July 19, 1898. 13½" x 16".
- Kirkbride, Mrs. Alex, 416 W. 25th Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Pair of English clogs, brought from England in 1900. The clogs have wooden soles, and are worn by the English for outdoor work.
- Thompson, H. E., 808 E. 22nd Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Jasper Eye agate, picked up in 1940, near top of Continental Divide, about 18 miles east of Laramie. 5½" x 11".
- MacClean, E. S., Buffalo, Wyoming—Four shark teeth found in the oil field, Midwest, Wyoming; six dinosaur gizzard stones found at Shell, Big Horn County, Wyoming; piece of petrified snake vertebrae.
- Carnegie Library, Laramie, Wyoming, through Elizabeth Abbott Garber—One copy Cheyenne City Directory, 1895.
- Howard, L. B., 89 Pine Street, Rock Springs, Wyoming—Copy of the Cosmopolitan magazine of August, 1896, from the home of William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill").

# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

July, 1941

No. 3

LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING  
A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE LARAMIE

HEARD COLLECTION



—Courtesy, Library, Wyoming University

Rev. John Roberts at the Grave of Sacajawea and her Sons, Baptiste and Bazil,  
in the Indian Cemetery at Fort Washakie. Chapel in the background.

Published Quarterly

by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Cheyenne, Wyoming





# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

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THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

GLADYS F. RILEY

State Librarian and Historian

Cheyenne, Wyoming



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The State Historical Board, the State Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

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The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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—*Courtesy, Library, Wyoming University*

Monuments of Sacajawea: (top) At Portland, Oregon, with Dr. Hebard; at Louisiana Purchase Exposition grounds, St. Louis; (bottom) at Bismarck, N. D., and at Charlottesville, Va., Lewis and Clark, and Sacajawea.

# Sacajawea

## A SYMPOSIUM

.....

On periodic waves of public interest has the heroic and notable character, SACAJAWEA, risen to national distinction and renown, since the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at Saint Louis, Missouri, in 1904 (known also as the Lewis and Clark Exposition.)

Chosen as an outstanding historical figure by the exposition management, she was given an important place in the commemorative features of that observance. The event commemorated not only the acquiring, by the United States, of the vast uncharted territory west of the Mississippi River known as "The Louisiana Purchase," but also it celebrated the centennial of the subsequent exploring expedition in charge of Meriweather Lewis and William Clark, sent out by President Thomas Jefferson.

Sacajawea—the only woman accompanying the expedition—by her uncanny sense of direction, her general capability as a guide and interpreter, her uncomplaining endurance, together with her resourcefulness, loyalty and heroism in situations of danger and hardship—proved to be of untold value in safeguarding the party in its perilous trip over the plains, across rivers and mountains, and the ultimate success of the entire venture. While her husband, Toissant Charbonneau, an uncouth Frenchman, was officially employed as a guide and interpreter and was paid \$500.00 for the trip, his "squaw" (squaw) received nothing, though Clark later bestowed personal favors upon the family and gave them material assistance.

During the intervening decades her name has graced the pages of half a hundred volumes of American history and fiction, and her figure—carved in stone, or painted on canvas—adorns a score of public places throughout the Nation.<sup>1</sup>

### Named as Important in American History

Early in 1941, wide-spread attention was focused again on Sacajawea when James Truslow Adams<sup>2</sup> named her as one

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1 See Supplement A, list of memorials as recorded by Dr. Hebard, in her *Sacajawea*, more details of both the author and her work being given later in this symposium.

2. Mr. Adams, for fifteen years an Elector of the Hall of Fame, made the announcement of his selections in the February, 1941, issue of the Good Housekeeping magazine, by an article entitled, "The Six Most Important

of six American women who have been "the most important in American History," and as being one of those 'who has definitely left her stamp on American life and institutions.'

### **Governor Smith Cites Historic Spot**

Wyoming public interest in the subject was further renewed on May 22, 1941, when Governor Nels H. Smith requested that the Wyoming Landmarks Commission give attention, this summer, to the historical site of Sacajawea's grave in Fremont County, Wyoming, in recognition of that extraordinary honor reflecting to this State.<sup>3</sup>

For the first time in its history, the National Geographic Society has included the site of Sacajawea's grave in Wyoming, on its 1941 map of northwestern states.

### **Claim to Sacajawea Strengthened**

With these recent developments, it is brought to mind that the long claim of Wyoming to Sacajawea's last resting place has been strengthened through the years by an accumulation of testimony and findings which has created an almost impenetrable bulwark of evidence. Therefore, in the limited

---

American Women." While the birth year of the woman in which Wyoming is so highly interested, is given by him as 1788, the date of her death is indicated as being a question, and he does not cite her place of burial. He spells the name, S-a-c-a-g-a-w-e-a, substituting a "g" for the "j" commonly accepted by Wyoming historians, and under a sub-title, "Sacagawea", in the article, says of her:-

" . . . a Shoshone Indian, whose name is probably unknown to the majority of Americans, but who played a great part in the development of our nation. After President Thomas Jefferson had bought from Napoleon the great, and more or less undefined, territory called the "Louisiana Purchase" of the land west of the Mississippi, he sent an expedition under Lewis and Clark to explore what is now our extreme Northwest out to Oregon. This Indian girl went with them as interpreter, and it was largely due to her services that the expedition was successful and that the Oregon country is today part of the United States. The "Bird Woman," as her name is translated, was, consequently, one of the real founders of the greater nation."

3. As a result of Governor Smith's request, the Landmarks Commission has planned the erection and dedication of a monument, in the early Fall of 1941, on U. S. Highway No. 287, about fifteen miles northwest of Lander, and a brief mile or two from the site of the old Indian cemetery, in the picturesque Lander Valley so beautifully described by the Reverend John Roberts, D.D., L.L.D., on page 174 of this symposium.

Members of the Wyoming Landmarks Commission are: Warren Richardson, president; John Charles Thompson, treasurer, both of Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Joseph Weppner, of Rock Springs, secretary.

A sub-committee was appointed to assist the Commission with program plans, with the venerable and beloved Reverend Roberts, of Fort Washakie, Wyoming, as chairman. The other members of the committee are: Mrs. Bryant B. Brooks, of Casper; Mrs. Lenora Harnsberger Stone, of Lander; Mr. Thompson, and Mrs. Inez Babb Taylor, Assistant State Historian, of Cheyenne.

space of these pages, attempt is made to give this important subject, with its numerous ramifications, a prespective as clear and accurate as possible—evidenced by the findings of some of those who have given it serious study for periods of time ranging from a few months or years, to a whole life—from which the reader may make his own deductions and arrive at his own conclusions.

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### **Enigma Offers Lure of Romance**

Fascinating in the extreme is the thrilling story of the young Shoshone Indian maiden, who, with her little papoose, Baptiste, on her back, accompanied Lewis and Clark and party on their memorable western expedition of 1805-1806, and is one of the most exciting chapters in American history. It is comparable only to the romance of the careful unraveling of the life history of an aged Shoshone Indian woman who, on April 9, 1884—nearly four score years later—died in the nighttime on a pallet of blankets in a Government log dwelling at the Fort Washakie Indian Agency on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

The former, for almost four decades, has provided a colorful and romantic subject for scores of writers of fiction and history from coast to coast, while the latter has been a puzzling enigma which lured researchers to divers points throughout the length and breadth of the Nation—and even to the other side of the globe—in attempting to learn whether the youthful maiden and the old woman, known on the Reservation as "Bazil's Mother," were one and the same.

At times in the past, controversy has been rampant, and numerous conflicting opinions have existed, but finally, bit by bit, the fragile threads of the tapestry into which are woven the events of a distant period, bedimmed and befogged by the passing of more than a century and a half, have been assembled by various researchers throughout the years, into a picture so complete and so convincing in its entirety that the few missing fragments here and there are insignificant in effect when viewed as a whole.

### **Historians, Researchers Ferret Out Facts**

This panoramic historical fact-scene has been painted vividly upon the canvas of Time with painstaking craftsmanship and patience. It is the priceless work of numerous fervent and sincere seekers after Truth—artists in their respective professions as historians, research experts and archivists—highlighted now and then by an extraordinary stroke of some



talented layman, such as Alick F. C. Greene, of Fort Washakie, Wyoming. He is a son-in-law of that historical pioneer character, Finn Burnett, early farm foreman on the Reservation, who was memorialized in 1937 by Robert B. David, in his 378-page work entitled, "Finn Burnett, Frontiersman."

Mr. Greene, in a recent interview with a new witness, Pandora Pogue, aged Shoshone woman on the Wind River Reservation, secured new testimony which is another link in the chain of evidence establishing the identity of "Bazil's Mother" as Sacajawea, in corroboration of all the previous evidence. He also interviewed Quintan Quay, aged Indian still living on the Reservation, whose testimony Dr. Hebard likewise obtained and recorded.

Further details of Mr. Greene's findings and work appear as a concluding part of this symposium.

### Dr. Hebard Leads the Way

Foremost in the group of Wyoming historians above mentioned is the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard,\* brilliant Wyoming educator whose impassioned ambition to uncover the truth concerning the entire life of Sacajawea has made her own name, in this State, almost synonymous with her subject.

Associated for more than fifty years with the University of Wyoming at Laramie, Dr. Hebard is the author of nearly a score of historical works, culminating with her masterpiece, the 321-page book, *Sacajawea*, published in 1932.<sup>4</sup> That volume—with its complete bibliography of approximately 120 sources of information from which her material was gleaned—is a lasting monument to herself and to her high hopes that the United States Government would eventually give recognition to Wyoming, in whose arms she believed her heroine to lie clasped in the last long sleep.

Interviews by Dr. Hebard, at Fort Washakie, with Indian Agents, missionaries and teachers from the white race among the Shoshones, as well as interviews with members of the Shoshone tribe—including descendants of Sacajawea, together with her neighbors and friends—all form an array of direct testimony included in the book.

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\*NOTE.—See biographical sketch, page 170.

4. See ANNALS OF WYOMING, October, 1938, for an extended resume of Dr. Hebard's work and writings, by Alfred Larson, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Wyoming, in which are cited three of her books as most outstanding, namely: *The Bozeman Trail*, *Washakie* and *Sacajawea*. In the first-mentioned, she collaborated with E. A. Brininstool.



—From *SACAJAWEA*, by Hebard

**Dr. Hebard and Susan Perry, Shoshone woman Who Knew Sacajawea, and Whose Sister was one of Baptiste's Wives.**

### **Held Hope for Federal Recognition**

Following the death of Dr. Hebard, October 11, 1936, an article by Agnes Wright Spring, a well-known Wyoming historian and writer, appeared in the December, 1936, issue of the *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, published at Cheyenne, Wyoming. In this, among other pertinent subject matter, is described a dream of Dr. Hebard for federal recognition of Wyoming as the burial place of Sacajawea. Mrs. Spring, University of Wyoming graduate, and for four years an assistant to Dr. Hebard, her lifetime friend, also gives a lucid and illuminating chronicle of the succession of circumstances which lured the late Wyoming historian step by step into a lifetime study of the entire Sacajawea subject, and the ultimate publication of her book of the same name. For its timely information, the article is offered here in full:-

## "RECOGNITION THAT SACAJAWEA DIED IN WYOMING IS SOUGHT"

By Agnes Wright Spring

"The finest tribute which the people of Wyoming could pay to the memory of the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, their most eminent historian, would be to carry on to completion her endeavor to obtain final official federal recognition of the fact that Sacajawea lived on the Shoshone Reservation and is buried there.

"An unused appropriation (\$5,000.00) made by Congress provided for a monument to Sacajawea to be erected in Wyoming—unused, because various other states sent up a hue and cry disputing Wyoming's right to such a distinction. Government experts diligently investigated the data pertaining to Sacajawea, but as yet no final announcement of their decision has been made from Washington.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly work must still be done by Wyoming if the proper recognition is to be attained.

"On September 25, just two days before Dr. Hebard was stricken with her last illness, she wrote to me as follows:

"I am wondering if you have a copy of the notes which you made in regard to the one-hundred-year-old woman, Susan Perry, who was blind and who told me about Sacajawea. If you have, I am wondering if it would be too much trouble to have a copy made . . .

"I think we are narrowing things down quite nicely and if I can live a bit longer we may be able to establish what I have been working on for half a century."

### Indians Called Hebard 'Good White Woman'

"These notes referred to in Dr. Hebard's letter were made one afternoon about a year and a half ago when she told me step by step of how she had gathered the data for her book, "Sacajawea". Long into the dusk she talked and then concluded by telling me the name which the Shoshones gave her when she was doing the research work up on the Wind River Reservation. This name, Dr. Hebard requested, should not be made public until after her death. 'Zont-Tumah-Two Wiper-Hinze,' they called her, meaning, 'The good white woman. The woman with one tongue.'

"The Indians, she said, felt that she was telling the truth about their ancestor, Sacajawea.

"This book by Dr. Hebard, which to my mind is her finest work, was the culmination of 30 years of research. It is a magnificent illustration of painstaking, persistent, resourceful research work on her part.

"In hearing the story of her research I was fascinated with the lure of the trail that led from North Dakota to Oklahoma and from the Pacific Coast to Germany, a trail that criss-crossed many times but never ended in a blind alley—always coming out into the clear to join the main road that wound surely and convincingly to the grave of an old Shoshone woman in the burying ground of the Wind River Reservation.

### Search For Story Was Difficult

"This road of research was anything but a smooth one. In the face of disbelief, caustic criticism, ridicule and open opposition, Dr. Hebard courageously continued to unearth facts to fit together bit by bit, until at last she built an impregnable fortress of truths which will, I feel sure, withstand attack.

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5. So far as is known at this time, 1941, no formal announcement definitely designating the burial place has been made from the Office of Indian Affairs.—A.W.S.

"The start of this trail of research was traced with the tip of a pointer in the hands of Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, who gave a lecture on the Lewis and Clark Expedition and who spoke in glowing terms of the woman guide, Sacajawea. That was back in 1904 after his return to Laramie from a trip to the Lewis and Clark Exposition in St. Louis, Mo.

"At once Dr. Hebard became interested in the story. First, she read the journals of Lewis and Clark. What, she asked, had become of Sacajawea after that journey to the Pacific? She reasoned that in view of the fact that the Journals said the Indian woman was so elated over the reunion with her people while on the trip, that ultimately she must have returned to them in Wyoming. There soon followed interviews with the Rev. John Roberts, who stated that he had buried an old woman about 100 years old in 1884, who might possibly have been Sacajawea. Rev. Roberts suggested that Dr. Hebard talk with Finn Burnett, a high Mason and a churchman, who had been on the reservation since 1870.

"Consequently there were conferences with Mr. Finn Burnett and with James I. Patten and as the result of these interviews Dr. Hebard felt sure that the woman whom she sought had lived her last years on the Wind River Reservation and had died there. This woman had related stories in the presence of Mr. Burnett and Mr. Patten about a journey to the Big Waters and had spoken of "The Washington," meaning the government. Her story of the "big fish," which they found on the beach, tallied perfectly with accounts in the Lewis and Clark Journals, though at the time she told the story neither Mr. Burnett nor Mr. Patten had seen the Journals.

#### **Wrote First Article After Three Years**

"After three years of research, Dr. Hebard wrote an article on Sacajawea for the Journal of American History. That was her first real bit of intensive research writing. Still she was not content with the result as she felt that there were many gaps in the story—years of silence that should be filled in—and so, year by year she persisted in her search for facts.

"Visits to the Shoshone reservation, with reliable interpreters and competent witnesses, produced remarkable evidence from friends and relatives who had known the old woman called Porvio or Chief, or Wadze-Wipe, Lost Woman (Sacajawea),—the woman, who according to her grandson and others had carried official papers given to her by the government, who had worn a unique medal around her neck and who had talked of her visit to the Big Waters.

"There were those who mentioned that her son, Baptiste, whom she carried on her back when she was guide, had lived in Big Houses-by-the-Sea and was called the Wooden-Shoe White Man. This sounded truly fantastic, but Dr. Hebard, the historian that she was, took down every item, knowing that sometimes even the most worthless clue may prove invaluable. Fifteen years later she discovered positive evidence that Baptiste had been taken to Germany, as a lad, by Prince Paul.

"Too, the Indians told her that Porvio had lived with the Comanches. This seemed like a clue worthy of being followed up. One woman on the reservation, a white woman, remembered distinctly that her grandmother had written down the story of the interesting Indian woman, who had guided Lewis and Clark, and when she had studied her geography lessons she had remembered what her grandmother had told her about Porvio and the Pacific Ocean.

#### **Friends Gave Aid In Hunt For Data**

"Reverend Roberts recalled that the old woman had called one of her boys, 'Pomp.' That was the name which Captain Clark used in a letter when he invited Charbonneau, the husband, to bring Sacajawea and his family to St. Louis to live.



"Although Dr. Hebard conducted her full schedule of work at the university, she devoted many extra hours and vacations to the Sacajawea search. She sent research workers into Oklahoma to interview the Comanches, to the Huntington Library to translate rare manuscripts, to Germany to dig into dusty archives.

"As she progressed in her work people rallied to her aid and whenever any of her friends learned of anything pertaining to the Indian woman, they would send the data to Dr. Hebard.

"There came to her splendid original testimony of the Indians, such as that of Susan Perry. She unearthed original baptismal records, rare manuscripts, old journals and letters—enough data to convince anyone in doubt, that the real Sacajawea was the woman Dr. Roberts had buried.

"And so, with this splendid data a magnificent book was written.

"But there is yet to be completed the work of getting through the federal appropriation for a monument in Wyoming—to the memory of Sacajawea. Such a monument will do honor, not only to the Indian woman guide, but also to Wyoming's pioneer historian who wrote so brilliantly of the Indian woman's life and who was herself a pathbreaker—Zont-Tumah-Two-Wiper-Hinze—The good white woman—The woman with one tongue."

Added to the thoughts of Mrs. Spring concerning Dr. Hebard and her interest in this historical character, Sacajawea, is the following declaration of Miss Mary E. Marks, Librarian of the University of Wyoming, who succeeded Dr. Hebard in that position and was her close associate for seventeen years:

---

\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—"Dr. (Grace Raymond) Hebard was born in Clinton, Iowa, in 1861, received the Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Iowa in 1882, and the Master of Arts in 1885, the Doctor of Philosophy from the Illinois Wesleyan University in 1893, and was the first woman admitted to the Wyoming Bar, 1898. She was a draftsman in the office of the United States Surveyor General and in the office of the United States Land Department in Cheyenne, 1882-1891, the librarian of the University of Wyoming, 1891-1919, Professor of Political Economy at the University, 1906-1936, a member of a committee of three that drew up the petition in 1889 asking the Constitutional Convention of Wyoming to adopt the woman suffrage clause, and a trustee of the University of Wyoming, 1891-1904."—Eva Floy Wheeler, *Wyoming Writers*.

No greater homage ever was accorded to a citizen of Wyoming than the tributes which have been paid to the memory of Dr. Hebard. Following her passing on October 11, 1936, an impressive and beautiful memorial service, marked with highest respect and dignity, was conducted on December 7, 1936, in the auditorium of the Liberal Arts building on the University of Wyoming campus, in Laramie.

Those participating on the program as speakers were representatives of the various departments of the University, including the board of trustees, the alumni, the faculty, the student body and the department with which Dr. Hebard had been most recently associated. A lovely floral setting was arranged for the occasion, and appropriate selections of instrumental and vocal music interspersed the fitting messages of the speakers.

A handsome 50-page book bearing the self-explanatory title, "In Memoriam, Grace Raymond Hebard, 1861-1936," was published in June, 1937, by the faculty of the University of Wyoming. In the volume are chronicled the highlights of a busy life in public service, together with tributes of organizations and individuals in generous number. Dr. Hebard's gifts to the University in the form of three or four trust funds for scholarships, together with a valuable historical collection of manuscripts, pictures, maps and books, are also described, as well as the "Hebard Room" and its contents in the University Library.

" . . . Dr. Hebard's book on Sacajawea is recognized as an authority although she does not entirely agree with some others. However, she did much work and research on this subject, and I am willing to believe that her decisions are as nearly right as anyone else who has to rely on records dug out of the past."

### **Government Makes Investigation**

In 1925, the United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., assigned to Dr. Charles A. Eastman, the task of making thorough research and investigation of all evidence obtainable on the subject of Sacajawea and her identity, as well as the location of the site of her burial.

Dr. Eastman, a Sioux Indian, and author of nine books on Indian life, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1887 and received an M.D. degree from Boston University in 1890.

During his investigations he spent three months visiting among the Comanche Indians of Oklahoma, where he found descendants of Sacajawea and recorded their testimony; among the Gros Ventres in North Dakota; and among the Shoshones on the Wind River Reservation, Fremont County, Wyoming. In the latter instance his contacts were similar, in some cases, to those of Dr. Hebard, whom he also visited. His findings and conclusions as a result of all his research were incorporated into a detailed 11-page report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated March 2, 1925, which he signed as "Inspector and Investigator."

While eleven years later Dr. Hebard drew generously upon the Eastman material for her own book on the subject, Dr. Eastman's report has not been heretofore published formally, and it is submitted in full as "Supplement B" of this article, without being edited or revised in any particular. The copy of the report received from the Office of Indian Affairs by the Wyoming Historical Department during preparations for this issue, is in mimeographed form.

Though Dr. Eastman's report is criticized by Helen Crawford in her story entitled, "Sakakawea", North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Volume 1, No. 2, April, 1927, as being "a long, confused and inconclusive narrative dealing with Charbonneau's two Shoshone wives," she concedes that "in general" it "supports Dr. Hebard's conclusions."

It may be admitted that the Eastman narrative is not a notable literary production, and is not worthy of an author of such learning and attainments as Dr. Eastman, yet the subject is traced through to the climax:

"that Sacajawea, after sixty years of wandering from her own tribe returns to her own people at Fort Bridger and lived the remainder of her life with her sons in peace until she died on April 9, 1884, at Ft. Washakie, Wyoming; that is her final resting place."

### The Reverend John Roberts Knew Sacajawea

Probably the only living white person in Wyoming who can claim the distinction of having had any personal acquaintance with Sacajawea and her sons, Baptiste and Bazil, is Dr. John Roberts,\* of Fort Washakie, Wyoming, the vicinity where for more than fifty years he served as the devoted and sacrificing spiritual leader of the Indian mission which he established in 1883, under jurisdiction of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

On April 9, 1884, called upon to conduct the burial service of his Church over the mortal remains of an aged Shoshone woman whom he and others around the Agency knew only as "Bazil's Mother," Dr. Roberts thus entered the official record of her death, and noted her age, 100, as he had been advised.

Dr. Roberts knew her son, Baptiste, who as a papoose was carried on his mother's back during the famed long journey to the west with Lewis and Clark, and he also knew her adopted, and more devoted, son, Bazil, who requested a Christian burial for his mother.

Not only was Dr. Roberts a splendid friend to Dr. Hebard, but he also gave close cooperation in her ambitious endeavors to ferret out facts in historical research among the Shoshone

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—By Judge E. H. Fourt, in Wyoming State Journal (Lander), March 8, 1934:-

"John Roberts was born of Welsh parents in the County of Flint, North Wales, Great Britain, in 1853.

"He was educated in Welsh grammar school and graduated with the degree of B. A. in St. David's College, Lampeter, a Welsh college affiliated to the University of Oxford, England. He also received the degree of M.A.

"He was ordained to the Deaconate by the Right Rev. George Augustus Selwyn in the Cathedral church of Lichfield, England in the year 1878. Rev. Roberts volunteered his services to the West Indies, where there was need of someone to look after a leper colony in one of the islands. He was ordained to the Priesthood by the Right Rev. Francis Cramer Roberts in the Cathedral church of Christ in the city of Nassau, the Bahamas, West Indies, in 1881. Here he met his future bride. In 1883 he was sent by the Right Rev. John Franklin Spalding, bishop of Colorado and Wyoming, to establish, under the Domestic and Foreign Missionary society of the Protestant Episcopal church, missionary work among the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians on the Shoshone Indian reservation, Wyoming, and to organize missions among the white settlers in the territory adjacent.

"In 1883 he established, under the United States resident Indian Agent, Dr. James Irwin, the United States Government Indian boarding industrial school at Fort Washakie, Wyoming, for the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians.

"In 1889, under the Right Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, he established the Shoshone Indian Mission Boarding school, Wind River, Wyoming, for the Shoshones.

"Mr. Roberts was army chaplain at the military post at Fort Washakie for twenty years.

"In 1932 the Degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him, *Honoris Causa*, by The Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois.

"In 1932 the Degree of Doctor of Laws was awarded him, *Honoris Causa*, by the University of Wyoming.

"In 1884 he was married to Miss Laura Alice Brown, a refined and edu-

Indians on the Reservation, as well as among Agency officials of the U. S. Government, by which she sought to identify "Bazil's Mother" as the Indian girl, Sacajawea.

As authority on her names, Dr. Roberts gives the meaning of Sacajawea as "the boat launcher" or boat pusher", in which other authorities, including Dr. Hebard, concur.

The experiences of Dr. Roberts on the Wind River Reservation where Sacajawea made her home with Bazil and his family, and where her descendants and a few of her aged Indian friends are still living—are given a revealing description by him in an article entitled, "The Death of Sacajawea." This appeared in "INDIANS AT WORK, a News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service," issue of April 1, 1935, which is a mimeographed periodical from the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., of which John Collier is the editor.

In consideration of the advanced age of Dr. Roberts, (88 years) the ANNALS staff has refrained from burdening him with request for contribution of a special article at this time, but pleasure is taken in offering his interesting story above referred to, in its entirety, as follows:

#### **"THE DEATH OF SACAJAWEA"**

By John Roberts, D.D., L.L.D.  
Fort Washakie, Wyoming

"The Right Reverend John F. Spalding, Bishop of the missionary jurisdiction of Colorado and Wyoming, sent me here in 1883 to establish the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indian mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I arrived at the Shoshone Agency on February tenth after a hard journey over the main range of the Rockies from Green River, the nearest railroad station, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles which took up eight days traveling in a sleigh, most of the way over the snow-covered mountains.

#### **Introduced to Bazil and His Mother**

"The next day after I arrived here I went to the United States Indian office where a few aged Indians were assembled, the bulk of the tribes being absent on their annual winter buffalo hunt. Among those present was Bazil, one of the head-men, an aged and fine specimen of an Indian. I was introduced to Bazil by Dr. James Erwin, M.D., United States Agent in charge of the Shoshone reservation. Bazil was able to talk English brokenly; I was also told he could speak French. The Agent then took me to Bazil's camp, which was about a hundred yards or so from the office, to see an aged woman who was called by him, "Bazil's Mother". She was seated on the ground in a tepee; her hair was gray and she had the appearance of being very old. Bazil said she was his mother and that she was about a hundred years old, "very old, very old."

"Dr. Erwin alluded to her connection with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and he seemed to be keenly interested in that fact. I was interested in the old woman because of her great age, for at that time I knew very little of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

"Bazil proved to be a very dutiful son to his mother. He was, in reality, only an adopted son and nephew. He cared for her tenderly and had his daughters and other women of the camp see to her every need. She was well



provided for. The Agent issued her plenty of beef, flour, groceries and tobacco, which she liked to smoke. Her own son, Baptiste, alluded to by name by Captain Clark of the Expedition, lived about three miles above the agency at the foot of the mountains. I came to know him well later on.

### **The Burial of Sacaiawea**

"On the morning of April ninth, the following year, I was told that Basil's Mother had passed suddenly away during the night, in the log cabin that was in the camp, on her shake-down of quilts, blankets and pelts. The Agent had a coffin made for her, and he sent employees to dig her grave on the eastern slope of one of the foothills, a mile and one-half east of the agency where there were four graves of white people who were killed by hostile raiding Indians. This burial ground has been subsequently set apart by the Indian Office as a Shoshone Indian cemetery, but it still remains a part of the reservation. There are now several hundred Indian graves in it, thirty-seven of them being the graves of veteran Indian soldiers who served in the United States Army.

### **Importance of Burial Event not Realized**

"The burial of Sacajawea took place late in the afternoon of the day on which she died. Those in attendance were her immediate relatives, the Agent (Dr. Erwin) and some of the employees. I read over her grave the Burial Service of the Episcopal Church. I little realized at the time that the heroine we laid to rest, in years to come, would become one of the outstanding women in American history.

### **Resting Place in Beautiful Valley**

"She sleeps with her face towards the dawn on the sunny slope of the Rocky Mountains. Her grave overlooks the beautiful Little Wind River Valley. Standing there we see, close by, the Shoshone Indian Mission school and, at a distance of about two miles, the buildings of Fort Washakie. We see also, at about the same distance, the buildings of the former Shoshone Agency. Two miles further down the valley are the buildings of the government school.

cated woman of French and English parentage, of Nassau, Bahama Islands, West Indies. To this union were born one son, Edward N. Roberts, and four daughters, Mrs. Chas. W. Markley, Mrs. Walter Tyndall, Mrs. Marshall Graham and Miss S. Gwen Roberts, all of Fort Washakie and Wind River, Wyoming, Mr. and Mrs. Roberts now have nine grandchildren.

"Mr. Roberts translated the Gospel of St. Luke, the greater part of the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal church, and a simple catechism of the Christian doctrines, into the Arapahoe language. He translated the Church divine service into the Shoshone language, and also compiled an Arapahoe-English catechism. These translations were used by Dr. Roberts in his services for the Indians, and have gradually been replaced with the regular services of the church in the English language.

"His work upon the reservation includes the building of a chapel at the Indian Mission school, one at Wind River and one at Fort Washakie. He also built chapels in the white settlements bordering on the reservation, at Lander, Riverton, Hudson, Milford and Dubois, Wyoming."\*\*\*

"He also gave Christian burial to the great Chief Washakie, whom he had baptized many years before, and who had been his staunch friend thruout his life among the Indians.

"Dr. Robert's life and service among the Indians has been such that no one here has nearly the influence for good among the Indians that he has, and, I might say, that the same conditions prevail among the white settlements in this part of the state.

"Dr. Roberts was honored by the legislature of the State of Wyoming, in a joint resolution passed on February 21, 1933, at the close of his fifty years of missionary service in the State of Wyoming. This resolution will be found in the Session Laws of Wyoming, 1933, on page 192."

We see also the glistening waters of Little Wind River and of Trout Creek, hurrying down the valley from this elevation of one mile above sea level towards their destination in the Gulf of Mexico. We see at the bottom of the valley, six miles off, great clouds of steam rising up from the famous Washakie Hot Springs. To the north, at a distance of seventy miles, arise the Washakie Needles, named in honor of the great Chief. To the south is the Beaver range of mountains. Far off to the east are the Owl Creek and Rattlesnake Mountains; and to the west, close by us, are the towering mountains of the main range of the Rockies, through the grim passes of which Sacajawea led the Expedition of 1805 and 1806, when no other guide was available who knew the Indian trails.

#### **Had Acquaintance With Descendants**

"Baptiste, Sacajawea's son, I knew over a period of some years up to his death. He had a large family. Those descendants now living are numerous. Baptiste lived on the reservation. He spent his time in hunting, fishing and selling Indian curios to supply the needs of his family. His grandchildren and great-grandchildren are living on the reservation. Baptiste made his home about three miles from the Shoshone Mission up to the time of his death. He died and was buried, according to the ancient custom of the Shoshones, in the rocks in a canyon west of the Mission at a distance of some seven miles at the head of Dry Creek. From his rocky grave can be seen his mother's resting place, Sacajawea.

"Baptiste's son, Wyt-te-gan, informed me one time that his father, Baptiste, had often told him that Baptiste's mother carried him (Baptiste) on her back when he was a baby, across the mountains when she led the first "Washington" across to the Great Waters towards the setting sun (Dab-be-dos-nank).

"Bazil, the adopted son and nephew of Sacajawea and in whose camp she lived, died a few years after his mother. He was buried at a place about four miles from the Agency but was subsequently laid to rest beside the grave of Sacajawea his adopted mother. Bazil was a noted pioneer guide, himself a great friend of Dr. Erwin who was Agent, resident of this reservation in the early seventies. His friend, Bazil, came to him, Dr. Erwin told me, and demanded permission from him to bring his mother's tent and pitch it close to Dr. Erwin's house. 'For', said Bazil, 'I am going away on a buffalo hunt and I want you to take special care of her, for she has been a great friend of the white people in the early days.'

#### **Her Experience Hated by Her People**

"Sacajawea, during her life, never boasted of her journey and great service to the whites. In fact, on the other hand, she kept it secret for if the fact should have been published of her having led the Lewis and Clark Expedition it would have brought nothing but approbrium and scorn from the members of her tribe. And Bazil would not have mentioned the fact to Dr. Erwin had he not been anxious for the welfare of his mother during his absence on the hunt.

"Although Sacajawea was silent to the whites concerning her connection with the Lewis and Clark Expedition she used to amuse members of her family by relating to them some of her experiences during the journey. One time she told them that she had seen at the Great Waters toward the setting sun, a fish as big as a log cabin. Captain Clark mentions the fact that they had found a dead whale washed ashore when they reached the Pacific.

"After Charbonneau, her French mixed-blood husband's death, she was lost sight of to whites and Shoshones for many years while she was visiting kindred tribes of her people. She spent several years with the Comanches who are the same as Shoshones and speak the same language. But the homing instinct in her led her, during her latter days, to seek her own people in the mountains of Wyoming.

During the latter years of her life here she was known to the whites and Indians as Bazil's Mother. On my Parish Register of Burials, I recorded her

### PANDORA POGUE

(right)

—Shoshone woman who, since 1871, has lived on the Wind River Reservation in Fremont County, Wyoming, and was a friend of Sacajawea, whose body she assisted in preparing for burial, in 1884.

Aged nearly 100, Pandora makes her own costumes and does remarkably fine beadwork. Note her beaded moccasins and belt.

Interviewed by Alick Greene, her story is published for the first time. (See page 178).



### QUINTAN QUAY

(left)

—old Shoshone who was 10 years of age when he first came to Wind River Reservation in 1871. He was well acquainted with Sacajawea and her son, Baptiste, and adopted son, Basil. He tells the same story in 1941 as he related to Dr. Hebard in July, 1921.

At 16, Quintan was a Government scout with General Crook at the Battle of the Rosebud, in 1876.

—Photos by A. F. C. Greene, June, 1941, Special for the ANNALS.

burial under the date of April 9, 1884, as Basil's Mother, Shoshone, age one hundred years. Date of death, April 9, Resident of Shoshone Agency. Cause of death, old age. Place of burial, burial grounds Shoshone Agency. Signature of Clergyman, John Roberts. She was also known to the Indians by other names according to the Shoshone custom, as: Wadze-Wipe, the Lost Woman, Boe-nive, Grass Maiden, Bah-Ribo, Water White Man."

### **New Evidence Verifies Old**

The final contribution to this collection of opinions and testimonies on the identity of Sacajawea and her life history in Wyoming, is some new and pertinent information from Alick F. C. Greene,\* of Fort Washakie, who for thirty years held responsible positions in the United States Indian Service in Montana, South Dakota, and Wyoming, at Fort Washakie.

### **Pandora Pogue Knew Sacajawea**

Mr. Greene's manuscript introduces and discusses the Sacajawea subject in several of its phases already covered in this symposium, and in well known sources, but he does present some additional data which he believes never before has been published, including the statements (obtained in 1939) of Pandora Pogue, Shoshone woman nearly 100 years old, who was a friend of Sacajawea, and who, this summer of 1941, is still living at the Shoshone Agency.

Mr. Greene explains that: "Pandora's mother knew Sacajawea as a young girl before her capture by the Mandans," but that Pandora, herself, "first met Sacajawea at Fort Bridger, subsequent to the latter's return from the Comanches in Oklahoma. This would probably have been about 1854, when Sacajawea was 66 years old, and Pandora was a girl of ten.

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Alick F. C. Greene was born on August 22, 1867, at Bray, County Wicklow, Ireland, and first located in this western country at Fort Custer, Montana, in 1887, where he was bookkeeper at the Sutler Trading Store until 1892; he then served as interpreter and clerk, U. S. Indian Service, Crow Agency, Montana, until 1893; was Chief Clerk at the same place from 1894 to 1903.

In 1904 he came to Wyoming and served at Fort Washakie as Special U. S. Disbursing Agent, U. S. Indian Service until 1913, when he returned to Montana as Chief Clerk at the Tongue River Agency, for a year, when he was made Acting Superintendent of the Cheyenne River Agency in South Dakota, from 1915-1917.

From 1917-1919 Mr. Greene was manager of the Richards and Cunningham store at Arminto, Wyoming, and then moved to Fresno, California, where he was secretary-treasurer of the James Irrigation District for ten years.

He later returned to Wyoming, and from 1930-1931, he was manager of the Eden Valley Irrigation Project, Rock Springs, and since 1932, has been living at Fort Washakie, where he still resides.

He is a member of Masonic Lodge No. 2, Lander, Wyoming, and of the Protestant Episcopal church.

He married Ida C. Burnett, daughter of the late Fincelius G. Burnett, of Fort Washakie, and they have a son, Alick F. C. Greene, Jr.



From that time on, Pandora lived in the same camp with Sacajawea and talked to her frequently. When the Shoshones moved from Fort Bridger to the Wind River Reservation in 1871, Pandora spent much of her time with Sacajawea, as they were distantly related."

Pandora's story, which concludes with the declaration, "I could not be mistaken," is here offered in full:

"I must be about 96 years old (1939). I was born near Bear River in Utah. I knew 'Pahrivo', or Bazile's mother in Utah, although she was not known at that time by either of those names. Her name as a young girl was 'Sah-ton-zee-ap', meaning 'Wild Flower.' The next time I saw her was at Fort Bridger, at the time of the treaty between the Shoshones and the whites in 1868. She was then called 'Pahrivo', after she had come to Fort Bridger from the Comanches in the south. Pahrivo was a kind of nickname, given to her by some of the foolish young Shoshones, more in the way of ridicule than for any other reason. It means 'Water White Man', or 'Water Chief White Man', and refers to her having handled the boats of the white chiefs with whom she went to the great waters in the west from the Missouri river. Some of the Shoshones did not like the idea of a woman having received so much attention from the white people. At the same time, she was much respected by those Indians who amounted to anything, and also by all the white people.

"I was with her at Fort Bridger when the white men from Washington made the treaty with the Shoshones, giving them the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, in exchange for all the other lands they then claimed. She stood up and talked at this meeting. I never knew any other woman to take part in our councils. I do not know what she said, but I know that, after the meeting, the Washington men all got up and shook her hand. After she came to Wind River I lived with her for quite a while.

"She was then called, by Indians and whites alike, 'Bazile's mother', or sometimes 'Sacajawea'. Bazile was the son of her sister, who died a long time before, and Sacajawea adopted him as her own son, when she first met her own people while traveling with the white chiefs up the Missouri river. She also had a son of her own, whose name was 'Baptiste'. She carried him on her back while she was making the trip to the big waters. After she came to Wind River, I lived with her quite a while. The white men built a house for her at the Shoshone Agency. It stood about 100 yards east of the Dickinson store and about 200 yards north of the Noble & Lane trading store.

"Her son, Bazile, also had a house just behind the Noble & Lane store, and they used to visit back and forth. I don't remember much of what she said about her trip to the big waters, as I was just a small girl then and I did not pay much attention while the old people were talking, but I remember her speaking of being with a large party of white soldiers, who came pretty near to starving at one time. She said she opened her parfleche and let them help themselves to her pounded meat. She also told me about a big fish that she had seen on the shore of the big waters in the west, but I never believed that story. No fish was ever so big as she said. She said it was bigger than the distance between her house and the Dickinson store (about 100 feet.)

"I have seen the medal which she said the white chiefs had given to her husband and which he later gave to her. I never saw her wear it herself, but I have seen it hanging around the necks of both Bazile and Baptiste. It was about 2½ inches in diameter and had a head on one side, which the Indians said was God, and on the other side some words which I did not understand. I think this medal was buried with Baptiste, though I am not sure. I was present when she died at Wind River, and I went to the Shoshone cemetery and saw her buried. Everyone went to her funeral, both Indians and whites. I never saw so many people together at one time. She was as old then as I am now, and her hair was white like mine. After she came to the Wind River Reservation she married a man called 'Par-ro-wook-canah', and he had two children by

a former marriage, both of whom died when they were quite small. Her husband died a long time before she did. He was a Bannock Indian. The woman whom I saw buried at the Shoshone Agency was the same one my mother knew as a girl when they were on the head of the Missouri river, later on I saw her at Fort Bridger when she came back from the Comanches, and I lived with her when we all came over to the Shoshone Agency. I could not be mistaken."

### Finn Burnett Knew Sacajawea

Mr. Greene's manuscript also includes a story of approximately 900 words by his father-in-law, Finn Burnett, who came to the Wind River Reservation as instructor in farming to the Shoshones, in 1871, and served fifty-three years, until his retirement in 1924, the year of Mr. Greene's interview with him.

Mr. Burnett knew Sacajawea and, with others at the Agency, saw and conversed with her almost daily during the thirteen years from 1871 to 1884, the time of her death.

The Burnett testimony given to Mr. Greene is similar to that furnished to Dr. Hebard and to Robert David, and recorded by them,<sup>6</sup> but only a few facts from the manuscript can be presented here:-

Mr. Burnett visited Sacajawea and her adopted son, Basil, in their log house, and received from them instructions in the Shoshone language. He heard from Sacajawea's lips numerous experiences of her life, including the journey with Lewis and Clark, which he and the others at the Agency did not doubt, for says he: "How could she have knowledge of all these things unless she was an actual eye-witness? She could neither read nor write." Known by various names in her earlier life, on the Reservation she was called "Sacajawea" meaning "boat launcher," "but was more generally known as 'Bazile's Mother.' She was carried on the Shoshone census rolls by the last mentioned name."<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Burnett relates that he "first became interested in Sacajawea through Dr. James Irwin, U. S. Indian Agent, and his wife," and that Mrs. Irwin wrote, from Sacajawea's description, a history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the part Sacajawea had taken in it; that from that time, all during Sacajawea's life at the Agency (13 years), he, together with Mrs. Irwin and others, visited Sacajawea frequently at her home; that Mrs. Irwin wrote shorthand, and that she made her notes on legal-cap size paper, with a red line down the left side; that the completed story consisted of more than twenty-five sheets; that they realized it was valuable; but that he (Burnett) never saw the story after a fire which destroyed the Agency's office in 1909, though he made search for it.

6. Hebard's *Sacajawea* and David's *Finn Burnett*.

7. See photostatic copy of a portion of the 1877 census roll of the Shoshone tribe at the Agency, on page 182.

### Search for Grave in North Dakota Fails

The Greene manuscript brings up the subject of North Dakota's claim to the burial place of Sacajawea at Fort Manuel Lisa, and recites that:

In 1938, Mr. C. E. Faris, Field Representative of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was detailed to make an attempt to locate the site of Fort Manuel Lisa. In the course of his investigation, he secured the services of Mr. Homer C. Cornell, Road Engineer at the Standing Rock Indian Agency at Fort Yates, North Dakota, who in a letter to the writer (Greene), has kindly furnished the following statement:

U. S. Department of the Interior  
Office of Indian Affairs,  
Field Service,  
Standing Rock Agency,  
Fort Yates, North Dakota.

Mr. A. F. C. Greene,  
Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

Dear Sir:

"In answer to your letter of December 5th, several years ago the site of Fort Manuel was discovered by local residents. An old Indian woman gave the information that there had been an old fort at this site according to tales related by her father. As it had been burned, there was very little evidence of the fort without doing some excavating. However, there was a slight depression around the old enclosure, due to the wood rotting and the earth settling. On digging along this trench, the old posts of the stockade, with their charred tops were found. We have dug enough around the edges of this enclosure to establish the corners. Also, within the enclosure, are a few mounds, which are the remains of buildings. Evidently, the roofs of the buildings were covered with dirt. Doane Robinson, former South Dakota historian, had established the site at a point two miles further down the river, and he had decided that the fort, or its remains, had washed into the river. However, on examination of these ruins, he has decided that the site near Kemel is correct. There is very little to be found in the way of rubbish around the site, but this is what would be expected, as the fort was in existence only a few months.

"Our assumption that it is, possibly, the burial place of Sacajawea is taken from notes in Luttig's journal, published by Stella Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society. Luttig made the note that the Shoshone wife of Charbonneau died of putrid fever while at the fort. He describes her as being about 25 years of age, and the best woman in the fort. This 25 years of age checks with her age at the time she was captured by the Mandan Indians in 1800, as she was supposed to be about 12 years of age at that time. Of course, it is known that Charbonneau had two Shoshone wives, but the other one was several years older, and I cannot find any record of Charbonneau ever having her with him after the trip with Lewis and Clark. We did some digging near the stockade about a year ago (September 1938), but were not able to find any graves. It was thought that there would be about four graves, as I believe that about three of the men in the party died at the fort. We expect to do some more searching for graves at a future date. We have a CCC-ID project for restoring the old fort, and we hope to have part of this work done this year. At present, a new home has been constructed for Tom Pheasant, whose present house is situated on the site of the old stockade, and it was impossible previously to

do much work at the site. Since you have talked to Mr. Faris, he has no doubt given you further information that would be necessary on her life. . . .

Very truly yours,  
HOMER C. CORNELL,  
Road Engineer." \*

### Greene Interviews Quintan Quay

Additional sidelights on Sacajawea's son, Baptiste, and verification of several former findings of fact, are contained in a letter dated May 27, 1941, to Gladys F. Riley, State Librarian and Historian, from Mr. Greene, reporting an interview with Quintan Quay,<sup>8</sup> which are so pertinent to the general subject under consideration that the letter is quoted verbatim:-

"I have just had a talk with Quintan Quay, the old Shoshone I mentioned in my letter of May 5th, who knew Baptiste Charbonneau well, and he gave me the following answers to the questions you asked in your letter of April 30th:

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no existing photograph of Baptiste.

"Quintan Quay says that he does not remember having ever seen Baptiste wearing the 'Jefferson medal', which a number of people, both whites and Indians, have told me that Sacajawea owned, but he has a very clear remembrance of her adopted son, Bazile, wearing it on many occasions, and he always understood that it was the property of Sacajawea. He thinks it quite likely that this medal was buried with Baptiste.

"This bears out the statement made to me by Pandora Pogue, an old Shoshone woman who also knew Sacajawea and both of her sons. This old woman told me that she had seen both Baptiste and Bazile wearing this medal, but that it was not buried with Sacajawea. She was sure of this, as she assisted in preparing Sacajawea's body for burial. It has always been thought that the medal was buried either with Baptiste or Bazile. Bazile's body was disinterred a few years ago, but the medal was not found. A leather pocket-book, containing a number of papers, which had belonged to his mother, was found with the body, however. The pocket book was in a fair state of preservation, but the contents fell to pieces when exposed to the air, and none of the writing on the papers was legible.

"The place of Baptiste's grave is known, but a number of rock slides have covered the site, and while many tons of shale were removed in search of the grave, it has been impossible to reach it. A number of other Indian graves in the vicinity were opened while this search was being made, but all of them showed evidence of having been rifled, probably by white settlers. Both of my informants described the medal as being about 2½ inches indiameter. One side showed the head of a man, which the Indians thought was God; the other side bore clasped hands and some letters which, of course, had no meaning to the Indians.

"Quintan Quay says that Baptiste had two Shoshone wives, and two children, living with him in his lodge at Fort Bridger, but he does not know when he married them. Quintan Quay was ten years old when the Shoshones

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\*NOTE.—The foregoing facts and material gathered by Mr. Greene, a field worker for the Wyoming Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration, were released in manuscript form to the Wyoming Historical Department, exclusively—for use in the July, 1941, issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING, by courtesy of the above Federal organization.

8. See, also, Hebard's *Sacajawea* for statements of Quintan Quay.



*Census Roll of the Shoshone tribe of  
Indians, present at the Shoshone and Camas  
Agency, Wyoming Territory November 1<sup>st</sup> 1877*

| <i>Family Name</i>         | <i>No.<br/>Men</i> | <i>No.<br/>Women</i> | <i>No.<br/>Boys</i> | <i>No.<br/>Girls</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>No.<br/>Lodge</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>Shon. dit. pe</i>       | 2                  | 1                    | 0                   | 0                    | 3            | 6 112                |
| <i>Bat. tez</i>            | 3                  | 4                    | 1                   | 0                    | 8            | 8 113                |
| <i>Mah. ve. pip</i>        | 1                  | 1                    | 0                   | 0                    | 2            | 2 114                |
| <i>Andrew</i>              | 3                  | 2                    | 2                   | 1                    | 8            | 8 115                |
| <i>Bazil</i>               | 2                  | 2                    | 1                   | 0                    | 5            | 6 116                |
| <i>Bazils Mother</i>       | 0                  | 2                    | 1                   | 0                    | 3            | 3 117                |
| <i>Po-go-ni</i>            | 2                  | 3                    | 1                   | 1                    | 7            | 7 118                |
| <i>Nah. ran. gran. nah</i> | 0                  | 5                    | 1                   | 1                    | 7            | 8 119                |
| <i>Po-ra. wan. nah</i>     | 1                  | 5                    | 1                   | 0                    | 7            | 7 120                |
| <i>Op-hah. nah. bit</i>    | 3                  | 1                    | 1                   | 1                    | 6            | 6 121                |
| <i>Hi-oo. wale</i>         | 1                  | 2                    | 1                   | 0                    | 4            | 4 122                |
| <i>Do. phi-a</i>           | 1                  | 1                    | 0                   | 0                    | 2            | 2 123                |

This Record of the Indians at the Shoshone Agency, Wyoming Territory, of November 1, 1877, shows Sacajawea listed as "Bazils Mother", being the sixth name on the roll, and follows Bazil, her adopted son, fifth name on the roll. The second name, "Bat-tez", is Baptiste, her own son. It will be noted that the tabulation shows the family name, number of men, women, boys and girls in the family, together with total, and also the lodge number.—Record, Courtesy A. F. C. Greene. — Photostat, Courtesy Wyoming Highway Department.

came to the Wind River Reservation from Fort Bridger in 1871, and he remembers that Baptiste's two sons were young men in their late teens or early 20's at that time.

"Baptiste had two Shoshone wives. Quintan Quay says that one was called 'Toot-sahp' (Dirty), but he does not recall the name of the other.

"There are six living descendants of Baptiste on the reservation at the present time. One grandson, two great-grandsons and one great-granddaughter by his son 'Boa Tindall', and one great-grandson, one great-great-grandson and one great-great-granddaughter by his daughter 'Barbara'.

"Baptiste was a member of the Shoshone tribe from his birth, being one-half Shoshone blood through his mother, but when he joined the tribe at Fort Bridger is unknown. He was adopted by Capt. William Clark when a boy of seven years, or in 1812. He accompanied Prince Paul of Wurtemberg to Germany, was educated there, returning to St. Louis (probably some time between 1827 and 1830.)

"Civilization did not appeal to him and he reverted to type, rejoining his tribe in the Fort Bridger country, and remaining with them until his death.

"Baptiste dressed as an Indian; wore his hair in braids and lived in a tepee during his entire life among the Shoshones.

"There is no disagreement between Dr. Roberts and Dr. Grace Hebard on any important points concerning Sacajawea and Baptiste."

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) A. F. C. GREENE."

### Conclusion

Thus, it is hoped that within the limits of these comparatively few pages there have been garnered sufficient threads of the dramatic story of Sacajawea—a true friend of the white race when friends in the red race were sorely needed—that the reader's interest in her may have been stimulated and his sympathy quickened. If this goal has been attained, to any degree, the effort will not have been in vain.

Undoubtedly, this great human drama, one of the most poignantly pathetic, as well as one of the most grandly heroic, in all history, should be permanently and forever immortalized by Wyoming in some exceedingly magnificent and wonderful way—at some propitious and appropriate time.

Wyoming should not long remain indifferent to her rich heritage in the historical story of Sacajawea, nor should she remain disheartened from taking any future action because of perfunctory denials of that right by non-resident critics whose contentions are not supported by the evidence.

## Supplement A

## "MEMORIALS TO SACAJAWEA"

From

"Sacajawea", by Hebard

"On May 20, 1805, Lewis and Clark named a creek in what is today Montana, for Sacajawea. It is now known as Crooked Creek.

"Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, 1902, wrote *The Conquest* and by this publication 'rediscovered' Sacajawea."

"Bruno Louis Simm, 1904, designed a statue to be placed in the Louisiana Purchase exposition grounds, St. Louis. This was modeled after an Indian girl named Virginia Grant from the Shoshone reservation, Wyoming, to represent her kinsman, Sacajawea. The papoose on her back is modeled after a child of Sitting Bull.

"Sacajawea peak, the top of the ridge of Bridger mountain in Montana, overlooking the valley of the Gallatin, Jefferson, and Madison rivers, was named and the location suggested by Mr. O. D. Wheeler.

"Henry Altman, in 1905, designed a statue representing Sacajawea, with her child, astride an Indian pony. In this statue the child is carried in a 'papoose cradle', with his back to that of his mother, according to the true Indian custom.

"Alice Cooper, in 1905, designed a statue which was placed on the Lake-view terrace of the city of Portland, Oregon. This was erected by 'the women of the United States in memory of Sacajawea and in honor of the pioneer mothers of old Oregon.'

"In 1904, Rollin Bond, a bandmaster of the city of New York, wrote an intermezzo score named 'Sacajawea', which contained a number of typical tunes descriptive of the activities of the Shoshone woman.

"Edward Samuel Paxson, in 1906, produced an oil painting called "Sacajawea," which is now hanging on the walls of the library building of the state university of Montana. The same artist painted a number of historical murals for the capitol at Helena and for the county court house at Missoula. One of particular significance in the capitol building is that representing 'Lewis and Clark at Three Forks.'

"In 1909, a concrete shaft with an imbedded bronze tablet was erected as a headstone for the grave of Sacajawea in the cemetery of the Shoshone reservation. The location of the grave was designated by the Reverend John Roberts, who officiated at the burial of Sacajawea on April 9, 1884. The shaft and bronze were donated by the Indian agent, Mr. H. E. Wadsworth, and Mr. Timothy H. Burke.

"Cyrus Edwin Dallin, in 1910, designed a statue of an Indian girl leading and pointing the way for Lewis and Clark.

"Leonard Crunelle, in 1910, designed a statue in bronze representing Sacajawea. This was erected by the Federated club women and the school children of North Dakota, and is located in the capitol grounds at Bismarck.

"In 1919, a silver service set, decorated with emblems representative of Sacajawea, the gift of the State of Wyoming, was presented to the battleship 'Wyoming' by Honorable Joseph M. Carey, governor of that state.

"The Montana Daughters of the American Revolution, in 1914, placed a granite boulder with a brass tablet 'In Patriotic Memory of Sacajawea' near the Three Forks of the Missouri.

"In the historic valley of the Beaverhead river, near the Two Forks of the Missouri where Sacajawea discovered her people, a pageant was staged in August, 1915, to portray the historic events in the life of Sacajawea. The episodes of the drama were written by Mrs. Laura Tolman Scott and presented by Montana Daughters of the American revolution, and the pageant was held

on the site where the canoes of the Lewis and Clark expedition were beached, where the 'interprestress' of the Lewis and Clark expedition discovered her people, the Shoshones.

"A boulder with bronze tablet was dedicated November 15, 1914, at Armstead, near where the Horse Prairie and Red Rock rivers unite, by the Montana Daughters of the American revolution. This was the meeting place of the Chief Cameahwait and his sister, Sacajawea, on August 17, 1805.

"At the back of the speaker's desk in the house of representatives, Helena, Montana, is a mural of heroic size painted by Charles Marion Russell representing the meeting in 1805 of Sacajawea and her brother.

"Lake Sacajawea in Longview, Washington, is named for the Shoshone guide.

"In 1924, Sacajawea was introduced to a radio audience through a song entitled 'Sacajawea', lyric by Porter Bryan Coolidge of Lander and music by Frederick Bouthroyd of Leicester, England. Mr. Coolidge's home overlooked Sacajawea's tepee home on the Shoshone reservation.

"In 1925, Mr. Tullius P. Dunlap presented a painting bearing the title 'The Shoshones naming Sacajawea,' picturing the incident which took place at the meeting of Sacajawea and her people in the Beaverhead valley.

"An airplane named 'The Spirit of Sacajawea' made its initial flight in July, 1927, over the ancient home of the buffalo and the Shoshone hunting ground in the Shoshone national forest, Wyoming.

"In the public square at Charlottesville, Virginia, stands a group monument representing Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Sacajawea.

"U. S. Forest Ranger Alfred G. Clayton of Wyoming recommended in 1930 that a peak 13,737 feet high on the continental divide of the Wind river range between Fremont peak and Mount Warren, should be named Mount Sacajawea. This was so named officially on October 1, 1930.

"The Bishop Randall bronze tablet on the outer wall of the log building known as the Bishop Randall chapel, Shoshone cemetery, Wyoming, records the fact that on August 19, 1873, this missionary bishop baptized eleven Shoshones, 'four of whom were great-grandchildren of Sacajawea.' This tablet was placed and unveiled with religious ceremony August 22, 1931.

"Dedicated to the Toledo choral society in 1932, a cantata was produced, 'The Bird Woman, Sacajawea, a Legend of the Trail of the West.' The text was written by Evangeline Close, and the music by William Lester.

"In 1932, two granite monuments were placed in the Shoshone Indian cemetery in memory of Basil, son of Sacajawea, and Barbara Baptiste Meyers, a daughter of Baptiste and granddaughter of Sacajawea.

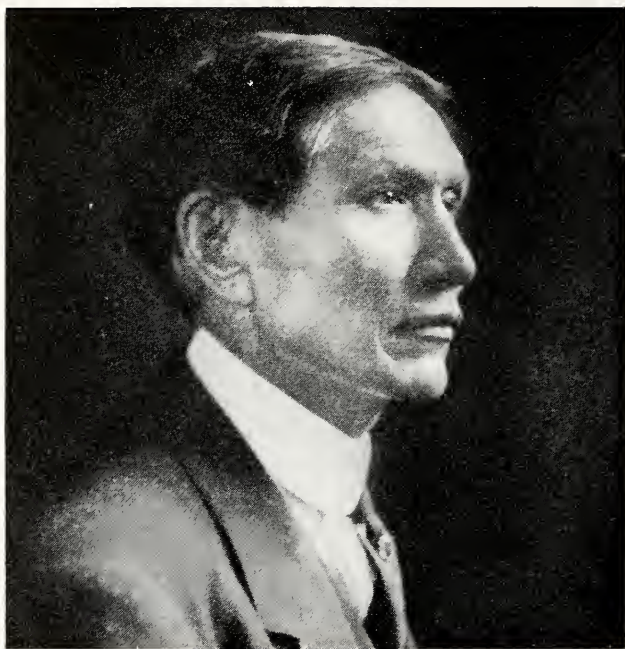
"Another evidence of appreciation for the services Sacajawea rendered to the Lewis and Clark expedition was made by the formal dedication on August 14, 1932, under the auspices of the Daughters of the American revolution and the U. S. forest service, of the Montana and Idaho inter-state Sacajawea national monument. The preserve is situated at Lemhi pass on the summit at 7,500 feet of the continental divide at the boundary between Montana and Idaho, where in August, 1805, Sacajawea guided the explorers over the Rocky mountains to the west. This formal linking of one hundred acres of contiguous territory commemorates the joint interests in Sacajawea and the long existing good-will between the two states."

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EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mrs. Dye was the official historian of the Lewis and Clark Exposition in St. Louis, according to the "Report of the Wyoming Commission of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, 1905." The report was submitted to Governor B. B. Brooks by C. B. Richardson, Commissioner-in-chief, and W. C. Deming, Secretary of the Commission, at Cheyenne, under date of January 29, 1906.

Mrs. Dye's 433-page book, *The Conquest—The True Story of Lewis and Clark*, is considered one of the great historical novels of the century.





**DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN**  
Inspector and Investigator, Office  
of Indian Affairs, 1925.

## Supplement B

## REPORT

By Charles A. Eastman\*

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOROffice of Indian Affairs  
Washington

March 2, 1925

"The Commissioner  
of Indian Affairs.

My dear Mr. Commissioner:

"In pursuance of your instructions of December 13, 1924, relative to investigation and locating the final burial place of Sacajawea or Bird Woman, I entered upon the investigation by the first of January, 1925. As by instructions, I proceeded from Pawhuska, Oklahoma, to Fort Washakie, Wyoming. I fully realized the importance and delicacy of this investigation, therefore I secured special interpreters before I entered upon the work. Mr. James E. Compton, who understood not only the Shoshone language but the Bannocks and he is a well educated Carlisle man, not only this but is well versed in the modern history of his people.

"Mr. R. P. Haas, the local superintendent, gave every help possible to find and meet such persons as I thought would give any material evidence concerning "Bazile's mother" as she was commonly known in her later days, although she was also known as Porivo, Chief Woman. She was also known by the name of Wadziwiper and Poheniv or Grass Woman. Wadziwiper means Lost Woman, who claims to be or others claim for her that she is Sacajawea or Bird Woman, the interpreter and guide of Louis and Clark expedition.

"I will use Shoshone or Comanche name Porivo for convenience. This statement of her grandson, Andrew Bazile, I marked as Exhibit A establishes fully that Porivo is the mother of Bazile and Baptiste two well known Shoshone men, all died within three years, namely; Porivo died 1884—Bazile died in 1886—Baptiste died in 1885. At the best information I have she was very nearly 100 years of age. If she is Sacajawea or Bird Woman she must have been born in 1788, and according to Louis and Clark Journals she would be 96 years old when she died. If Baptiste, the son of Porivo is the same Baptiste, the son of Sacajawea, he would have been 80 years old when he died for he was born February 11, 1805, according to Louis and Clark Journals; and if Bazile, the son of Porivo is the same as Touissant Charbonneau, the child of Charbonneau's Snake wife whose name is Otter Woman. According to the

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa), M.D., was born in Redwood Falls, Minnesota, in 1858, the son of Jacob Eastman, a Santee Sioux, and Nancy Eastman, half-blood Sioux; graduate of two colleges; married Elaine Goodale in June, 1891; six daughters were born. He was the Government physician at Pine Ridge Agency, 1890-1893, and in charge of the wounded captives at the time of the Ghost Dance outbreak, 1890; was Indian secretary of the Y. M. C. A., 1894-1897, under the International Com. Y.M.C.A., having charge of the whole Indian field; was attorney for Santee Sioux, Washington, 1897-1900; government physician, Crow Creek, S. D., 1900-1903; held appointment to revise Sioux family names, 1903-1909; director Brooks-Bryce Foundation, Boy Scout Camp, Chesapeake Beach, Md., 1914; national councilman Boy Scouts of America since 1922. \* \* \* U. S. Indian inspector during Coolidge administration, resigned in 1925. Author: Indian Boyhood, 1902; Red Hunters and the Animal People, 1904; \* \* \* Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains, 1918. Lectures on Indian life and history. Home: North Hampton, Mass.—*Who's Who in America*-1926-1927, Vol. 14, p. 640.

Gros Ventres testimony, he would be 83 years old, since in Luttings application for guardianship for him in August, 1813, he was declared 10 years old. This would make him approximately 1½ to 2 years older than his brother, Baptiste. These were the essential points I set down to guide me in the investigation.

"It is well known in history that when Louis and Clark returned from the western coast they lingered for a short time at the Gros Ventres village, and it is well known that Charbonneau and his two Snake wives remained there when Louis and Clark's Expedition proceeded down the river to St. Louis.

"The Indians of the Fort Berthold reservation, North Dakota, insisted that he did not pick up these Snake wives at the village and afterwards marry them, but they insisted he had married them somewhere up the Missouri River, either among the Crow Indians or the Blackfeet and afterwards drifted to their country and was there only a short time when Louis and Clark's Expedition came up to their village. It is very evident and in accordance with the customs of the Indians that Charbonneau could not have married the two girls at the same time. He must have married one of them at least a year or possibly two years before he married the second wife. To be sure he kept both of them, Touissant Charbonneau being the child of his first Shoshone wife, namely, Otter Woman, and this wife must have been his favorite for he named his oldest daughter Otter of the Gros Ventres wife by the name of Eagle, nearly twelve years afterwards who was the mother of Bull Eyes, who now claims that his grandmother Eagle was Sacajawea.

"According to the statement of Mrs. Weidemann, a very intelligent woman, daughter of Great Chief Poor Wolf of the Hidatsa Indians, Charbonneau took both of his wives and their children down to St. Louis; A year or so afterwards Louis and Clark departed from the village to St. Louis. I submit Mrs. Weidemann's statement as Exhibit K."

"The writings of Miss Stella G. Drumm of the St. Louis Historical Society say that after they reached St. Louis and remained for a short time Charbonneau was hired out to the fur company of Chouteau and was sent to one of their forts in the southwest. It is not clear as to what trading post he was attached, but it was on the branches of the Red River or Arkansas River in Oklahoma. However, he returned to St. Louis before 1811 for he had sold what little property he had in St. Louis to William Clark for \$100.

"In Breckenridge's Book of Travels he states that in 1811 when he was coming up the Missouri River on boats he saw Touissant Charbonneau and his Snake wife. He was told that the Frenchman was the guide of Louis and Clark Expedition. He also spoke of his wife as imitating white womens style in dressing and he spoke of her as being a commendable woman. In 1813 Manuel Lisa a well known French fur trader at St. Louis, whose operations in the fur trading business was extensive had sent a large body of men up the river to establish a trading post on the Missouri River in the vicinity of the then Arikaras and Gros Ventres as well as Yankton Nais Sioux country. John Luttig was his chief clerk who kept a daily Journal apparently of the activities and experiences of the party and the Fort. September 18, 1812, he made an entry saying "Elie's Snake squaw died today." On December 20, 1812, another entry was made by Luttig saying "Charbonneau's wife, the Snake squaw died of Putrid fever, the best woman in the Fort." The people of the Fort had a great deal of trouble from the Indians of the region owing to the American-English War of 1812, during which some of the British traders were inciting the Indians against the Americans. During the winter according to Luttig's Journal that Charbonneau and Jessumme were suspected seriously of being involved in the hostile conduct of some of the Indians. Luttig's Journal stopped suddenly in March,

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\*NOTE.—Several "Exhibits" are referred to by Dr. Eastman as being submitted with the report, but none were attached to this copy received from the Department of Indian Affairs by the Wyoming Historical Department. However, the testimony of several witnesses he refers to as "Exhibits" is included in the Hebard work, "Sacajawea," and to which the reader is respectfully referred.—Ed.

1813. It is well known among the Indians, Sioux and Rees that the Fort was attacked during that time and killed many of the Lisa's men. It appears during that time Charbonneau had departed to the Gros Ventres country.

"In August, 1813, Luttig made an application at the Orphan Court in St. Louis to have guardians appointed for the children of Touissant Charbonneau deceased, to wit:

Touissant Charbonneau, a boy 10 years of age

Lizette Charbonneau, a baby girl, 1 year of age.

"It appears or can be inferred that when the trouble arose at Fort Manuel Charbonneau had left his children, presumably in care of the Indian wives of the other employees of the Fort. When his wife died December 20, and as he disappeared during the attack there, the children were brought down with the remainder of the party to St. Louis.

"John Luttig, in his journal expressed himself strongly against the character of Charbonneau, but he spoke of his Shoshone wife as being the best woman in the Fort. He took interest in these children of the Charbonneau woman. He saw to it that they should have a guardian, therefore William Clark was appointed. Apparently he supposed that Charbonneau had been killed in the outbreak at the Fort.

"In the three points, Dr. Robinson holds as the essential proof that the woman who died on December 20 is the Bird Woman. I find no place in this connection where her name Sacajawea was mentioned nor directly referred to as Sacajawea, except in Mr. Breckenridge's observation on the boat that Charbonneau was pointed out as guide for Louis and Clark.

"That he had a Shoshone wife with him whom he naturally supposed the one accompanied Charbonneau across the continent with the Louis and Clark's Expedition. It is apparent that the Bird Woman was not called Sacajawea as far as the public is concerned during this time. Up to this time Sgt. Patrick Gass's journal was the only one published in 1807. Nowhere in his report she was called Sacajawea, she was only referred to as the Squaw or Charbonneau's wife.

"After the revision of the Louis and Clark Journals no one knew at that time outside of Louis and Charbonneau that this woman was called Sacajawea. Secondly, the court record shows that Baptiste the child of Sacajawea was conspicuously absent, this means that Baptiste had been retained in St. Louis when Charbonneau and his other Snake wife and child had gone back to the Indian country as stated by Breckenridge. Baptiste was too young to be separated from his mother and in my knowledge of the Indian mothers traits and habits are such she could not have permitted to be separated from her child at that age, especially those times. It was hard enough up to thirty years ago to get a child of 10 years to leave their Indian parents to go to school. It would have been impossible for Clark to retain Baptiste without his mother, but as he determined to either adopt or educate the boy, the youngest member of the expedition across the continent, he had to provide for the Bird Woman in order to keep Baptiste in St. Louis so that he may see to his education and as he could not trust Touissant Charbonneau to take the child back up the Missouri; therefore he retains him and that is why Baptiste was not mentioned in the Orphans Court when Luttig applied for guardian to be selected or appointed for the children of Touissant Charbonneau, deceased on August, 1813.

"The evidence given by Wolfe Chief or the Hidatsa and Mrs. Weidemann shows that Charbonneau did have two Shoshone wives and a Mandan wife besides. They clearly stated that Charbonneau took both of his Shoshone wives with him when he visited St. Louis some time in 1807 to 1808 and it is evident that he had returned with but one Shoshone wife who died on December 20, 1812. In the St. Louis Court application for guardians for his children, the child of Bird Woman was conspicuously absent. It will seem then that this child had been left in St. Louis when Charbonneau returned north in 1811, but the child Baptiste would have been too young to be separated from his mother, the Bird Woman.



"When the other two children of Charbonneau namely, Tousant Charbonneau, Jr., and Lizette Charbonneau, daughter, were presented at the Orphans Court, John Littig, was appointed guardian but it was scratched off and substituted by William Clark.

"Miss Stella E. Drumm states in her book that Clark was absent at the time of the court procedure, but when he returned he accepted the guardianship of the other children of Charbonneau. It is natural for the Indian woman, and under the circumstances that she would have to become the mother of those children until a certain age when they can be sent to school. This is proven by the testimony of Eagle Woman and by the statements of Mrs. Weidemann when Charbonneau married the bride, Eagle, Hidatsa maiden, in 1819 or 1820. He proceeded immediately with a company of fur traders to St. Louis, although he was supposed to have been killed in the attack at Fort Manuel by the Sioux when they killed many of Lisa's men. He turned up unexpectedly at St. Louis with his new wife, Eagle, and he takes his old wife again Bird Woman, and the two boys Baptiste and Bazile.

"Apparently Tousant Charbonneau, Jr., had a name of his own by that time, namely, Bazile. These two boys had been educated by William Clark; one was sent to a protestant missionary teacher and the other was sent to a catholic missionary teacher, namely, Mr. Welch and Father Neil, until in 1820. Bazile must have been 17 years old and Baptiste 15.

"Eagle said they were about 18 and 15. Not more than a year or so remaining in St. Louis according to Mrs. Weidemann's statement and Eagle's own account that Charbonneau had obtained employment with one of the fur companies together with his sons and the whole family departs for the southwest. They worked as guides and interpreters in one or two forts in the neighborhood of Neosho and Washita Rivers. During that time they visited some other forts, among them some Spanish or Mexican trading posts where Eagle gives account of seeing "so many sea shells and beads and beautiful blankets." While they were in that part of the country (it appears to be the western part of Oklahoma and Kansas), when Charbonneau takes another wife, namely a Ute young woman, which causes trouble with the Bird Woman. Charbonneau whips Bird Woman during the absence of his two sons on a trip. The Bird Woman disappears. This statement is corroborated by the statement of Bazile's son, namely Andrew Bazile, Exhibit A. Afterwards she drifted among the Comanches. The Comanches were originally a part of the Shoshone Nation; they spoke the same language with a dialect and local difference, just like we say high and low Dutch language.

"The evidence of the Comanches, or rather the statements of the Comanche people, bear out this fact although there is no one now living who knew just how and when she appeared among them. In due time she married a man by the name of Jerk Meat by whom she had 5 children. All died in infancy except one son and the youngest child, a girl. She lived approximately 26 or 27 years among the Comanches when her husband, Jerk Meat, was killed in a battle. It is a fact this was the first husband of her own choice and apparently she was devoted to him, therefore at his death she was heartbroken and very much depressed. At that time she was not in harmony with the relatives of her husband, therefore, she declared she would not live among them any longer. When she said this the people did not take her seriously but she was in earnest for one day she disappeared, taking with her her little girl. She had in her family a Mexican captive girl whom her son had captured in war and Bird Woman had raised her. She was 15 years old. She gives the information that Bird Woman had taken a small perfleche bag containing dried buffalo meat. It appears from this that she had a definite purpose and point toward which she was going.

"Her son hunted for her everywhere, in fact her whole band searched for her in vain. He visited many of the adjacent tribes, namely, Wichitas and Kiowas, but she was not found. A rumor came to them that she was among the white people, whether this was true or not they did not know. She was gone forever. After this they called her Wadzewiper, the lost woman. During

her life with the Comanches she was called Porivo, which means Wife or Chief Woman. Nothing was ever heard concerning her until the Indians all were placed in reservations and schools were established. Carlisle also came into existence. The son that she left among the Comanches was called Ticannaf. He had three or four children, all dead except one living now, a woman whose name is Tahcutine who gave the story of the life of her grandmother or Porivo or Sacajewea, the Bird Woman. The great grandchild from the Comanches and the great grandchildren from the Shoshones met at Carlisle. They inquired of each other their great grandmothers descendants, which developed that they were many living among the two tribes at the present time, and for the first time they learned that Porivo had reached her tribe the Shoshones; some fifty years after she disappeared from the Comanches. This story of her life as given by the Comanche descendants confirms the testimony of the Shoshones; that when she returned to her tribe she told them that she came from the Comanches, although it took her several years to reach there.

"The story of her separation from her husband and her children is corroborated by the statement of Andrew Bazile, a grandchild and the son of Bazile, saying that his father told him that the Bird Woman and her husband separated in the southwest country when he and his brother were young men and they have never seen their father since. They only saw their mother when she came back to them at Fort Bridger, a grey haired woman. The next place where she appeared was in the testimony of Edmond LeClair in Exhibit C.

"The story of Sally Ann who accompanied the Bird Woman or Porivo from Portage the Sioux is given fully by this witness, namely, Edmond LeClair. She reached St. Louis somehow a year or two after she disappeared from the Comanches and remained perhaps a year or so at that place, then proceeded up the Missouri River with some of the river fur men. At this time she married an old Frenchman who was employed by the company; the name of this man was not given.

"Information came to me indirectly from the Sioux country along the Missouri River that the Bird Woman is known 70 years ago, but the testimony of Wolfe Chief or the Hidatsa and Mrs. Weidemann shows that she had passed up the Missouri River stopping at the various forts until she reached Fort Union at the mouth of Yellowstone river. It does not clearly state how many years she traveled up the Missouri River or how many years she remained at Fort Union, but the story is clear that she proceeded from Fort Union up the Yellowstone River, Big Horn and Wind Rivers in company with French Indian Traders who were sent out from Fort Union to trade with the Rocky Mountain Indians. This story is that her husband was left behind for a few days at Fort Union with the intention of joining the party at the mouth of Big Horn River, but he never appeared. It was supposed he might have been killed by some Indian War party. Thus she lost her husband. On this trip she succeeded in reaching the upper branches of the Snake River when she learned from her tribe, some of whom she met, that her two sons were at Fort Bridger. She worked her way south until she reached Fort Bridger where she found her two sons. The family reunion was natural and a happy one. Bazile, the oldest son, or her step son whom she raised and called her own son was exceptionally devoted to her. It was in his family that she lived and died.

"The testimony of Mr. F. G. Burnette, Edmond LeClair, and Andrew Bazile corroborate Porivos traveling from Fort Union to the Snake country. Porivo's life among the Comanches is proved by the testimony of Mrs. Weidemann and the story of Eagle Charbonneau. Hidatsa wife and Andrew Bazile proves the separation of Charbonneau and Bird Woman in the vicinity of the Comanche country which identifies that the Bird Woman and Porivo are the same person, and that Bazile and Baptiste were sons of Porivo or the sons of the Bird Woman. Bazile was not a real son but was a step son whom she raised as her own son. There are many instances among the Indians where a nephew or step son has been more devoted to the mother than the real son, this was the case in the relation of Bazile and his mother.

"The Shoshone woman who died at Fort Manuel, was Otter Woman, the other Shoshone wife of Charbonneau who was Bazile's mother.\* The child (girl) Lazette does not appear anywhere after the court procedure. It is likely she died in childhood. The child that Porivo or Bird Woman carried away from the Comanche Tribe had reached womanhood among the Shoshone people and married a Frenchman by the name of Ely Mayer, who left and went to California; then she married Shade Large. She died soon after without any issue. The testimonies concerning this woman are not taken in due form as I did not think it was pertinent to the investigation of the burying place of Sacajawea.

"In the testimony of Mrs. Weidemann, and Eagle tells the story of her trip with Charbonneau to St. Louis and the southwest, and after the break with Bird Woman they joined another large party of fur traders who proceeded to Salt Lake in which Charbonneau was employed, taking with him his Ute wife and the Hedasta wife, but after winter quarters had broken up, they decided to proceed northeast into the Wind River country. The Ute wife left him. They then proceeded over the mountains towards the Wind River. When they reached that point they followed down the Big Horn River, thence to the Yellowstone River. When they were in this vicinity they met a large body of Crow Indians in camp. Here Eagle found some relatives who gave a white horse to Charbonneau. They proceeded down the Yellowstone River until they reached the Missouri River and down that river they arrived at the Hidatsa village which they had left four or five years before, when they went down to St. Louis. This was about 1825 when they arrived at the village of Hidatsa.

"It was on the basis of this wonderful trip that her grandson, Bull Eyes makes the claim that his grandmother was the Bird Woman who accompanied Louis and Clark, but it was fully 15 years later that this trip was made as the statement of his own tribeswoman and Mrs. Weidemann who clears the case and in the part of his own statement that it was an entirely different trip.

"It is also apparent that Charbonneau considered his Shoshone wife, Otter Woman, as his favorite for he named the first child by this wife, Eagle, the same name, namely, Otter the mother of Bull Eyes. The evidence gathered by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard is authentic because it came from the Bird Woman at the time, although she was an old woman then, she spoke of the incidences on the Louis and Clark Expedition. At the time history was unknown to even some of the Rocky Mountain white men, much more so with the Indians. One of the striking characteristics and habits of the Bird Woman is that she is very modest in claiming any honors of being guide to that party; one reason for this is the Indian woman will put her husband as the head in any matter of that kind. She never considered herself as a guide or interpreter. She evidently assumed that the great duties performed by her were the natural consequences of the expedition; that she was not interpreter and guide as she did not receive any salary and it will not bear too much assumption to say that she did not consider herself important or noted until perhaps some time after, even then she could not have received any published statement about herself as her people were very illiterate at the time of her death; and, as regards to her silence about her wonderful traveling and career, because it was not her choice but fate seemed to have compelled her to live the life that she did, except when she married the Comanche man. She was then a real wife and happy with her husband. Therefore when he was killed she was heartbroken and dissatisfied with the tribe with whom she lived and again the thought of her nativity and tribe took strong hold of her, therefore she departed with her youngest child on her back. Her purpose was clearly defined for she carried it out and in the end she defeated fate.

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\*NOTE—This statement that Otter Woman was Bazil's mother does not agree with other historians. The fact is well verified that he was the son of Sacajawea's sister who had died, but she adopted him as her son at the time the Expedition came upon her brother and other relatives, whom she rejoiced to see.—Erl.



"Within a short time that I am allotted to investigate and locate the burial place of this woman, it was difficult for me to go into all the trails and evidences of her wanderings, but I have only gone to the important points where she actually lived and the tradition still exists of her being there, and follow her back to her nation as heretofore stated. She died April 9, 1884, and was buried by Missionary Roberts at Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

"Not only the identity of Sacajawea, the Bird Woman is proven by the accompanying testimonies taken in the very wide parts of the country in such a manner that they could not have known what the other tribes knew and still they corroborated the truth of the history of her travels.

"Porivo or Chief Woman and Sacajawea, the Bird Woman are one and the same person.

"Bazile and Baptiste the sons of Porivo or Sacajawea are the same sons of Touissant Charbonneau's wife, Sacajawea or the Bird Woman of the Louis and Clark Expedition, namely; Touissant Charbonneau Jr., and Baptiste Charbonneau. This is proven by the statement of Mrs. Weidemann of the story of Eagles trip with Charbonneau to St. Louis, southwestern territory and through Salt Lake Country; thence back by the way of Wind, Big Horn, and Yellowstone Rivers into the Missouri and back to the Gros Ventres village reaching there about 1825.

Charbonneau was absent from that part of the country between 1819 to 1825 after which he was seen in that part of the country again by the Government officials, Atkinson and O'Fallon.

"From there on he was seen by Prince Maximillian, Mr. Larpenteur, and others up to 1839 when he appeared in St. Louis and he has never been seen since.

"By the testimonies gathered by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Baptiste was seen among the trappers in the Lemhigh Country in 1830. Faris speaks of having been lost in the trapping trip for two or three days, but he appeared later.

"William Clark Kernley spoke of meeting him in 1843 in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, Wyoming, as a guide, and Fremont in his exploring trip across to the Pacific meets a body of employees of the fur traders, Bent and St. Vrain not far from Ft. St. Vrain on the south fork on the Platte in a camp which was managed by Charbonneau.

"It is stated in Jim Faris's account of a trapping party in which Bazile Charbonneau and his brother who were employed by Bent and Robideau at Bents Forts in the southwest on some branches of the Arkansas. Bent and St. Vrain later on opened forts on the south forks of the Platte River and sent their men into the recesses of the mountains for trapping and gathering furs from different Indian tribes.

"It is natural that these two men being employed by that fur company wandered up into that country which was approximately adjacent to the country of their ancestors, namely, the Snake Indians to which their mother was a member, namely, Bird Woman. Evidently the older one took upon himself the leadership of the uncle's tribe at the same time he was still serving Robideau, Bent, St. Vrain, and later Jim Bridger.

"What evidence Dr. Hebard gathered came from very competent people, both intelligent and strong men.

"The testimony of Dr.'s Erwin, Patten, and Roberts cannot easily be disputed. In the first place they were simple men, secondly, they were Christian men for all three of them were missionaries at different times or simultaneously in which they were engaged in work among the Indians, and all of them had known Porivo, Bazile's mother or Sacajawea, the Bird Woman.

"Sacajawea, the Bird Woman was not much older than her sons. She was 17 when she gave birth to her son, Baptiste. Bazile or Touissant Charbonneau, Jr., the son of Otter Woman the other Snake wife of Charbonneau was born nearly two years before Baptiste. Therefore he was only 15 years younger than the Bird Woman. At the time their mother died they were very old men, she being 96 years old. Not knowing the exact age the Indians said she was



about 100 years of age. Baptiste was 80 years old and Bazile was 83. Therefore they did not appear much younger at that age than their mother and they all died within three years.

"I submit the testimonies of three different Indian nations, namely, Shoshones, Comanches, and Gros Ventres, the first in Wyoming, the second in Oklahoma, and the third in North Dakota. As there were no authentic records to be found after Clark had finished with them, Bird Woman and sons, we have to accept the tribal traditions and when they corroborated so strikingly well, we must accept it as the truth.

"I report that Sacajawea after sixty years of wandering from her own tribe returns to her people at Fort Bridger and lived the remainder of her life with her sons in peace until she died on April 9, 1884, at Ft. Washakie, Wyoming; that is her final resting place.

Respectfully,

CHAS. A. EASTMAN,

Inspector and Investigator."

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## SACAJAWEA

(Bird Woman)

By Porter B. Coolidge

O strangely sweet and darkly fair,  
An Indian girl with raven hair  
In silken strands of gloss and gloom  
Oft mingling with the rose's bloom;  
And wildly sweet the melody  
Her tameless spirit sings to me.

I stooped where swift Poposia flows  
And plucked for her a fresh, wild rose;  
Her dark gaze cast a snowy rim  
With twilight's purple shadows dim;  
Then softly, quaintly she did sing  
Like bird at eve with folded wing.

Now sunset's golden dreams are dead,  
The Indian girl from me hath fled;  
Still linger in the star-lit skies  
The dusk and splendor of her eyes;  
And voice of distant waterfall  
Sweet echoes of her song recall.

—From "Songs of the Last West."

## STATEHOOD FOR WYOMING

By Henry J. Peterson\*

### INTRODUCTION

This article, "Statehood for Wyoming," is a resume of conditions in the Territory of Wyoming, as well as the views and opinions of prominent leaders, together with public opinion in general, immediately preceding the historical Constitutional Convention, which convened in Cheyenne on September 2, 1889.

The story of that conclave, which was concluded on September 30, 1889, is told by Dr. Peterson in a previous treatise entitled, "The Constitutional Convention of Wyoming," published in the University of Wyoming Publications in May, 1940, and distributed as a supplement to the October, 1940, issue of THE ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The convention was attended by delegates who had been elected from the ten counties then existing, and the laws for the proposed new state were drafted and signed. The treatise gives a bird's-eye-view of the more important bills submitted, many of the controversies which took place, and personal side-lights on numerous personalities who took active part in the deliberations of that historic body. For his sources of information for both articles, Dr. Peterson has drawn generously from the news and editorial columns of the Wyoming press, as well as from the 700-page volume entitled, "Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, Wyoming."

The two articles by Dr. Peterson, together with the series of biographical sketches on the 55 men who attended the Constitutional Convention, as prepared by the Wyoming State Historical Department and published in two installments in the Golden Anniversary volume (1940) of THE ANNALS OF WYOMING, July and October numbers, respectively—give a concise, though complete, history of the preparations of the Territory for Statehood, the framing of the laws by which the State is now governed, as well as offering a personal acquaintance with each individual member of that great body of lawmakers.

Accompanying the biographical sketches were photographs of all the signers of the constitution, with the exception of only three, obtained from widely diversified sources through the efforts of the staff of the Wyoming Historical Department.

—Editor.

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Dr. Henry J. Peterson, Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the Department, University of Wyoming, Laramie, was born on September 3, 1878, at Story City, Iowa. He received his higher education at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.; the University of Chicago and the University of Iowa at Iowa City. He came to Wyoming in 1909 to assume the position of Superintendent of Public Schools at Diamondville, for one year. From 1910 to 1920, Dr. Peterson was Professor of Political Science at Iowa State Teacher's College, Cedar Falls.

In 1920, he returned with his family to Wyoming, having accepted his present position.

He and Miss Katharine W. Constant, of Buffalo Hart, Illinois, were married on December 26, 1914, and they have one son, Robert Constant. Dr. Peterson is a Mason and a member of the Presbyterian Church.

He is the author of Chapter IV, headed "Wyoming: A Cattle Kingdom," in a volume entitled "Rocky Mountain Politics," edited by Thomas Claude Donnelly and published by the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940, also a 30-page paper, entitled, "The Constitutional Convention of Wyoming," published in the University of Wyoming Publications in May, 1940, and distributed as a supplement to the October, 1940, number of The Annals of Wyoming.

It is usually the more alert and aggressive of the middle class who, dissatisfied with home conditions, are willing to endure the hardships of pioneer life. Frontier Wyoming was no exception to this rule. Among the early pioneers were men like Brooks and Carey and Warren. They were men of vision, not easily discouraged by seemingly insurmountable obstacles, who battled for what they thought would advance the interests of their community.

As early as 1885, Governor Francis E. Warren, in his Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior,<sup>1</sup> elaborated on the territory's excellent climate, its richness of natural resources, its live stock interests, its educational advantages, its railroad facilities, and its recreational possibilities. He also called attention to the fact that Wyoming was the only community in the United States that permitted women to vote. He recommended that the territory be considered for statehood "at the earliest possible date." The governor admitted that Wyoming at the date of his report might be somewhat lacking in population but thought that, with its present rate of increase, Congress, before its adjournment, might safely add the Territory of Wyoming to the sisterhood of states.

The territorial legislature was also in favor of admission. In 1888 it passed a Joint House Resolution in which Congress was petitioned for admission<sup>2</sup>.

Under the caption "A Clamor for Statehood" the Laramie Daily Boomerang, in the issue of January 8, 1889, reported a series of interviews with Wyoming citizens on statehood for the territory as published in *The New York World*.<sup>3</sup> Having heard rumors of the "clamor" in this far-away country, *The World* was curious to know on what sort of a foundation Wyoming based her claims for statehood. All those interviewed favored admission and gave plausible reasons for such action.

The Cheyenne Leader of January 24 suggested that the "legislative memorial to Congress may not result in much practical good for the present, but it will show that Wyoming is beginning to feel her oats, and when she sees something she needs in business she is not ashamed to ask for it."<sup>4</sup>

The Laramie Daily Boomerang was quite sure that the desire for statehood was almost equally as strong in Laramie as in Cheyenne and that it was favored by the best known and most enterprising men in the Territory.<sup>5</sup> "No one but a blunderer could contend that the people of Cheyenne would be the only

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1. Report of the Governor of Wyoming Territory to the Secretary of Interior, November 25, 1885.

2. Session Laws of Wyoming Territory, 1888, p. 226.

3. Reprint in Laramie Daily Boomerang, January 8, 1889.

4. The Cheyenne Daily Leader, January 24, 1889.

5. Laramie Daily Boomerang, January 10, 1889.

ones to reap benefit. All should consider what statehood would bring Wyoming—settlement, railroads, development, prosperity, growth, wealth, power, making her, not in dreams, but in reality, the 'Pennsylvania of the west.' "

Opinion was not, however, unanimous for statehood at this time. On January 22, The Cheyenne Daily Leader suggested that "we do not believe that the territory is now ripe for statehood or in a condition to bear the burdens of increased taxation which it will entail, but by the time our case can be considered through slow processes of legislation, we will have reached a stage which will justly entitle us to recognition."<sup>6</sup>

There was, moreover, some partisan objection to statehood at this time. While most of the Republicans favored admission some Democrats were rather dubious. The Republicans controlled the territorial government and would very likely elect both state officers and members of Congress if the territory were admitted. The Republicans were also suspected of planning to dominate the constitutional convention as well as to control the first state elections. This suspicion was especially directed at the so-called "ring of Cheyenne politicians." It was believed that the argument would be made that election of Republican officials would be desirable in order to influence the Republican Congress to vote for Wyoming's admission. "The politicians of Cheyenne," said The Sheridan Enterprise, "are the only ones, with a few scattered exceptions, who insist that Wyoming should immediately be made a state."<sup>7</sup>

The Rock Springs Miner suggested that "... it was only selfish Cheyenne that desired statehood for Wyoming. Statehood would help to lift the Magic City from its present state of lethargy, and force, through high taxation, the rest of the territory to pay for its revival and growth."<sup>8</sup> The Rawlins Journal believed that the convention ought to be postponed until after the meeting of the legislature the following winter.<sup>9</sup> The Journal had in mind the possibility of the Democrats getting into power and electing the first United States senators.

Meantime, Joseph M. Carey, our delegate to Congress, had interested Congress in statehood for Wyoming. The Republican party had failed in its effort to perpetuate Republican control of the national government by Freedmen's votes in the South. The party was, therefore, more than willing to admit western states which gave promise of adding to its vote in Congress. Representative W. M. Springer, on January 29, 1889, introduced an omnibus bill for the admission of Arizona, Idaho, and Wyoming.<sup>10</sup> The bill was reported favorably by the

6. The Cheyenne Daily Leader, January 22, 1889.

7. Reprinted in Laramie Daily Boomerang, June 10, 1889.

8. Ibid., June 10, 1889.

9. Ibid., April 15, 1889.

10. Congressional Record, Vol. 20, Pt. 2, p. 1253.



House Committee on Territories the following month and during the same month the Senate Committee approved the Mitchell-Teller bill for the admission of Wyoming. Congress, with only five days left of its session, adjourned without taking action.<sup>11</sup>

By this time those who favored statehood for Wyoming were getting impatient. In an editorial of March 28th, the *Laramie Boomerang* wanted to know if it might not be desirable to call a Constitutional Convention to draw up a constitution and present it to Congress, thus avoiding the delay involved in passing the Enabling Act.<sup>12</sup>

On May 13, 1889 the Democratic and Republican Central Committees circularized the commissioners of the various counties on the question of statehood.<sup>13</sup> The committee said that they believed the best interests of the Territory would be served by immediate action. The only objection which had heretofore been urged against statehood was that of increased expense. However, since the Senate Committee on Territories had unanimously presented a bill for the admission of Wyoming which contained so many generous grants of land and such a liberal cash revenue from sales of public lands, it was very doubtful if taxes would be appreciably larger, if as large, under state government than they were under territorial government. Nor would anything done toward statehood curtail the terms of county officers; they would serve out their terms of office at any event. In response to the suggestion the County Commissioners of seven counties voted by June 1 in favor of a Constitutional Convention.<sup>14</sup> Without waiting for Congress to take further action, Governor Warren, Chief Justice Maginnis, and Secretary of State Shannon agreed, at a conference held June 3d that the Governor should call for the election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. "The Territory of Wyoming," read the Governor's proclamation, "has the population, material resources, public intelligence and morality necessary to insure a stable government therein."<sup>15</sup> The Senate and House Committees on Territories, the Governor went on to say, had both reported in favor of Wyoming's admission; many members of Congress had expressed themselves as agreeing; and a majority of the citizens of the Territory favored statehood.

In order to get a more favorable reaction when Congress did act on the petition for admission, Carey's suggestion to follow the plan laid down in the bill reported by the Senate

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11. Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present*, Vol. I, p. 429, (The American Historical Society, Inc., Chicago and New York), 1933.

12. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, March 28, 1889.

13. Circular letter printed in *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, May 14, 1889.

14. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, June 1, 1889.

15. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1889.

Committee on Territories was adopted. According to this plan the Convention was to consist of 55 delegates, selected from the counties. The number of delegates from each county was fixed in the Governor's proclamation on the basis of votes cast in such county for Delegate to Congress at the last general election, the unit being a delegate for every 327 votes cast. The selection of delegates was to take place on the second Monday in July, with the Constitutional Convention meeting the first Monday in September. The Constitution adopted was to be submitted to popular vote on the first Tuesday in November of the same year.

In reporting the action of the Governor, the Omaha Bee declared that "... any state in the union would be glad to have the people that inhabit the Territory of Wyoming added to its population."<sup>16</sup> The Chicago Tribune commented thus: "The arguments her people set forth are convincing. They claim not only a first class population which is a matter of course, as the inhabitants are largely Republican, but they claim they have increased with great rapidity, having far exceeded 100,000."<sup>17</sup> The Denver Times was also quoted as saying that "Wyoming has the population and the wealth for a state. She has the enlightenment, the intelligence and the culture for self-government. Therefore, in justice to her people, she should be admitted."<sup>18</sup>

Meantime, some political leaders schemed to secure partisan control of the convention. With the selection of delegates to the convention in mind, Mr. Alf G. Rex, Chairman of the Uinta County Democratic Committee, addressed a circular letter to the Democrats of the county.<sup>19</sup> He called attention to a supposed Republican plan to control not only the Constitutional Convention but also the following election of state officers. He suggested, therefore, that the Democrats try to get a split county delegation in Republican counties and solid Democratic delegations from the Democratic counties, and, in this way, control the Constitutional Convention. In accordance with this scheme he wanted six "reliable and intelligent" delegates from Evanston.

The action on the part of the Uinta Democratic Chairman caused hard feeling in some counties and led to the election of partisan delegates in such counties. Both Albany and Carbon Counties elected Republican delegates. The Casper Mail in commenting on the result in Carbon County, said that "... it

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16. Reprinted in Laramie Daily Boomerang, June 6, 1889.

17. Ibid., June 7, 1889.

18. Ibid., June 7, 1889.

19. Ibid., June 24, 1889.

would seem that the managers of the Democratic party in Carbon County

Digged a pit and digged it deep;  
They digged it for their brothers;  
But for their sin they did fall in;  
The pit they digged for others."<sup>20</sup>

Meantime, Cheyenne leaders were growing apprehensive in regard to these rumors that spread over the territory regarding the supposed plans of Cheyenne Republicans. A joint conference of Democrats and Republicans was called which declared in favor of a non-partisan Constitutional Convention.<sup>21</sup> Also a resolution was passed declaring against the choice of state officers before Congress had taken action on Wyoming's admission. In the discussion Judge Lacey declared that it was best for Cheyenne not to assume too much in the direction of affairs throughout the territory. Mr. Kelly also spoke of the prejudices existing in various parts of the territory "against Cheyenne politicians, as they are called." He wished to see other counties also adopt non-partisan resolutions. The conference finally agreed to divide the Laramie County delegation, the Republicans getting six delegates and the Democrats five delegates.

Mr. Baird favored a joint meeting of the two territorial central committees. They could agree in honor that no partisanship should enter into the selection of delegates. On June 26th, the Republican Territorial Committee met in Judge Lacey's office.<sup>22</sup> This committee favored a non-partisan Constitutional Convention and opposed the election of state officers until after Wyoming had been admitted as a state. However, only two members of the Democratic Committee appeared and they declared they had no power to unite with the Republicans in the adoption of any resolutions.

No uniform method of procedure was followed in selecting delegates. In some counties local caucuses selected delegates to partisan or bipartisan county conventions. In other counties joint meetings of the Democratic and Republican County committees agreed on a bipartisan group of delegates. In one or two counties the county commissioners made the selection. The Convention of Johnson County selected two Democratic delegates and one Republican. According to the Laramie Daily Boomerang, ". . . the Democrats of the convention also

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20. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1889.

21. *Cheyenne Daily Sun.*, June 12, 1889.

22. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1889.

made fools of themselves by passing a set of rules denouncing the statehood movement."<sup>23</sup>

The delegates selected from the various counties met at Cheyenne on September 2, 1889, organized themselves into a constitutional convention, and adopted a constitution which was then submitted to the people and Congress for approval.

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23. Laramie Daily Boomerang, July 9, 1889. (Opposition to statehood at this time reflected northern Wyoming's antagonism to Cheyenne as well as Democratic fear of Republican domination of the Constitutional Convention and later control of the admitted state.
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### FIRST CHEYENNE DIRECTORY PUBLISHED IN NEWSPAPER

What appropriately might be considered as Cheyenne's first city business directory appeared as a series of ten installments in the CHEYENNE LEADER, Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, beginning on December 21, 1867, under the impressive heading, "Business and Financial Statistics of the 'MAGIC CITY', CHEYENNE!"

The explanatory opening paragraph stated the object of the series was "to give to the world, outside of our corporate limits, a more extensive knowledge of the importance of Cheyenne." That "the publication of these articles will be continued from day to day until the size, cost and use of every building in our city shall have been given, with the owners' names, names of persons occupying the buildings as tenants, their business, etc." Mr. Charles V. Arnold was the reporter in the undertaking, and respectful request was made "that our citizens will furnish him the requisite information, whenever he calls upon them."

The first article covered "Seventeenth street, south side, from O'Neil east to Eddy street—two squares," and contained 21 items, including the following:

"One story frame, 30x100—addition, 10x60, Harper, Steel & Co., Hardware dealers, owners and occupants—entire cost, \$4,000.

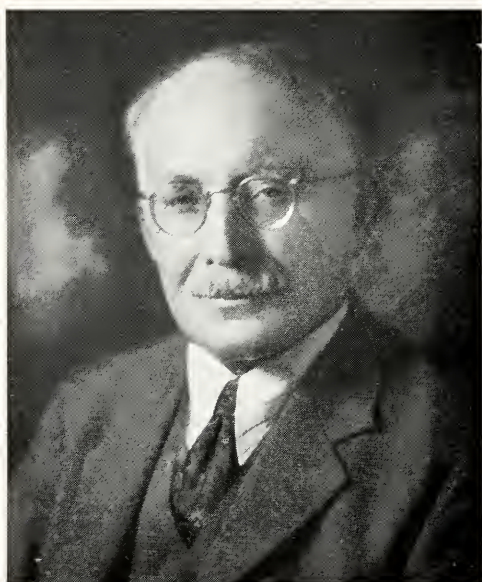
"One story frame, 16x14, saloon, D. Cunningham, owner and occupant—cost, \$175.

"Two story and a half frame, 26x66—addition, 20x60, Wyoming House, Holliday & Thompson, owners and occupants—one of the most imposing and popular hotels in Cheyenne—cost, \$10,000.

"One story frame, 22x41, Keg House, Champion & Fetter, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,400.

Space totaling approximately eighty-five column inches was used in the ten issues of the ambitious early-day newspaper to "give to the world" a bird's-eye-view of the "Magic City" as it was in those pioneer times, the first year of Cheyenne's existence.





**WILLIAM G. (BILLY) JOHNSON**

**THE LIFE STORY  
OF A  
FREMONT COUNTY PIONEER COUPLE**

**By Alice Mathews Shields\***

More than a half century has passed since "Billy" Johnson, young Yankee lad, left his father's farm in Iowa, and like his father, his grandfather, and his uncles before him, started out to see the world.

He inherited the Johnsons' yen for the open, unpeopled and new spots of the earth. The elder Johnsons were seafaring men—sailors and whalers. When Billy's grandfather William, was a young man he sailed his own vessel to South America where he bought logwood which he freighted to Uncasville, Connecticut, where he owned a dye mill on a cove of the Thames River. There he extracted dyes from the woods.

William's wife, Ellen, was a New England girl. On one of their voyages to South America they stayed for a while in Buenos Aires. There their son Nicholas, Billy's father, was born.

When Nicholas became a young man he also shipped his sailing vessel, Nancy, to southern waters. He went to South Africa where he became established with the African ivory, rubber, and guano trade. He married Ellen Raymond of the old Raymond family of Connecticut, well known and remembered for the library in Uncasville which carries the family name.

Eventually Nicholas lost his vessel, Nancy, to pirates off the coast of Brazil.

Nicholas and Ellen had two children, Ellen and William Gail (Billy). The mother died when her children were yet quite young, and after several years Nicholas, their father, went West to Iowa, where he bought the Badger Grove Farm of nine hundred and sixty acres in Madison County, sixteen miles south of Des Moines.

Billy and his sister Ellen stayed on in Connecticut to attend school. After a few years their father re-married and Billy went to the Iowa farm to live. Ellen married John Townsend of a prominent Connecticut family and remained in the New England State until her death.

**Makes Home in Wyoming**

In 1879, young Billy Johnson left the Iowa farm and arrived in Cheyenne the same year. He was very young, alone, and Cheyenne, in its twelfth year held no interest for him. He

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\*See biographical sketch of Mrs. Shields in ANNALS OF WYOMING, Volume 13, No. 1, page 58, January, 1941.

stayed only a short time and then went to Colorado. Two years later, in the spring of 1881, he returned to Wyoming—this time to become an integral part of the state. He went directly to the town of Rawlins in the Medicine Bow country on the eastern slope of the Continental Divide. There he hired out as a cow-puncher for Tom Sun, owner of the far famed Tom Sun Ranch, located on the Oregon Trail near Devil's Gate where the Sweetwater comes through the mountains. The hub and spoke brand of the Tom Sun Ranch marked the left rib of thousands of Durham cattle grazing in the Sweetwater River country.

Independence Rock, named "the register of the desert" in 1840 by the missionary priest, Father DeSmet, past which every traveler journeyed as he followed the Oregon Trail, is on the Tom Sun Ranch. The old Sweetwater stage station, built in 1861, was located on this land.

### **Becomes Full-Fledged Cow-Puncher**

The first major assignment given Billy Johnson by Tom Sun, was an order to join the rancher and a bunch of cow-punchers on a trip into the Oregon Country to buy cattle. There were six or eight in the party who "staged it" over the Overland stage line to Boise, Idaho, from where they traveled on horseback.

"We made good time over the wagon trail," W. G. (Billy) Johnson, now United States Land Registrar, four times State Representative, twice State Senator, and holder of many other public offices, said, as he settled back in his swivel chair, in a mood to talk about his life on the range. "Our stage was drawn by a six-horse team which was changed for fresh animals every ten miles of the way. The stage seated nine or ten men with room for one more on the seat with the driver. We traveled through the mountains, forded the streams and crossed the Boise River at the mouth of Sucker creek.

"After we traveled a hundred miles or so, some of the boys got homesick and turned back. Four of us who had no home—just drifting cowpunchers—went on. We deserted the stage at Boise and rode our horses to Tilton, and then staged it to Baker City, Oregon. We carried the money with us to pay for the cattle. We had many thousands of dollars tied around our bodies in money belts. A well-known character, commonly known as a bad man, got on the stage with us and rode some distance. Tom Sun, who was known the country over as a good shot, kept his gun ready for a draw, and his eye on this man, so nothing ever happened.

"We collected twenty-five hundred head of Durham cattle in that country, and, with the herd, started out on the return trip to the Tom Sun Ranch. We followed the Oregon Trail,

swam the rivers, climbed the mountains, and then followed the Indian River. We were five months making the return trip.

"We drove herd all day long and camped at night. The cook prepared our meals in the mess wagon. The ground made a good bed and we had tarps (tarpaulins) to keep the rain off. We 'pounded our ears' until early morning; were up and had breakfast and were ready for the trail before daylight. We took turns as night-herder to keep the cattle from straying from the camp during the night. The cowboys were paid \$40.00 per month—extra good boys were paid \$50.00.

"There was another buyer returning with us who kept his herd with ours until we got to a certain point. There we divided the herd and made the money exchange in the shadow of a gulch.

"When we got as far as Boise we went shopping for new clothes. The only underwear we could find was the red flannel variety. We were glad to get it—and to get a bath.

"We kept our route south of Boise—crossed Snake River at the mouth of Eagle Rock (Jackson Hole country), came through South Pass at the Continental Divide and down the Sweetwater to the ranch.

"I stayed on with Tom Sun for four or five years and herded cattle in the Sweetwater Country. Sun had a herd of six thousand cattle at that time."

Mr. Johnson said the feeling of contentment and the joy of living known to the cowpuncher in his saddle can never be experienced by the office-chair sitter.

He said the round-up was not a lark but rather meant long, hard hours for the cowpunchers. He explained: "When round-up time came we threw a few sacks of flour in the wagon and were told to rustle our own beef. We had a mess wagon and a cook to prepare our food. Beef, bread and coffee was our fare. In later years potatoes were included. No milk or butter! Cowpunchers refused to milk. There were usually eight or ten men to the wagon and each man had several horses. Often, there were between one and two hundred head in an outfit. A night herder was put on duty to watch the herd and to keep it intact during the night. We breakfasted before daylight and were glad for the chance to sleep after the day was over.

"There was no singing, nor playing of the fiddle around the campfire as the story writers would have you believe. Such things are from the imagination of some fellow who never saw a cow. We were on the open range many miles from any sign of civilization. However, we did play poker now and then. But we worked hard until the cattle were rounded up, branded, or cut out to drive to market, and then went back to the ranch.



"There is not much else but hard work in the life of a cowpuncher. Between round-ups, during the winter time, we broke our horses to ride. Horse-breaking was an occasion then. We blindfolded the wild horses and rode them until they gave up. Each man broke his own string. There was no fanfare such as shouts and pistol shots that you hear at the wild west shows. It was honest to goodness work, but we enjoyed it.

"No, there were no women within a hundred miles of us—if a ranchman happened to have a wife, she lived in town—The cowpunchers cabins had signs posted, 'No women or barbed-wire allowed'. The former were as scarce as the latter. There was none of either.

"However," he punned, "we had plenty of rattle snakes. We often killed them on the kitchen floor either by hitting them with a quirt or by shooting them. Many times we found the snakes in the beds when we turned back the covers to climb in. They had crawled in there in the day time to get warm. There was no danger of the rattlers wandering around after nightfall, however.

"Quite often the boys were struck by a rattler, but no fatalities occurred, because we immediately cut the flesh out around the wound and sucked out the poisoned blood. Sometimes we burned or cauterized the bite with a hot iron."

He added that wild game was plentiful and that the cowboys had an ample supply of it to eat. "Antelope roamed the hills and plains by the thousands. Deer and elk were plentiful in the hills and on the plains. The cowpunchers often roped an elk calf for the fun of branding him and then turned him loose. A horse can easily run down a young elk."

As to marketing the cattle, Mr. Johnson pointed out that there was no railroad in the Sweetwater Country at that time, and it was therefore necessary to herd the cattle either to Rawlins or to Rock Creek for shipment. "It was a two weeks drive to take a herd from the Tom Sun Ranch to Rock Creek, a distance of about one hundred miles to the south and east, and across the Medicine Bow River. We moved slowly so that the cattle could graze all the way over. Our shipping points were Omaha and Chicago."

He said that there were fifty thousand cattle on the range in the Sweetwater Country at the time he herded there. "Other herds", he called to mind "were the seventy-one quarter circle, 71, owned by an English company with stockholders in Scotland and England. The herd was known to have nine thousand head. I was in charge of the 71 herd for a year. Another large herd was the Goose Egg herd. The Searights from Texas built the herd and later sold it to the Careys who then had a herd of thirty thousand head."

### The Blizzard of 1883

Up to this point the long and severe winter, and its effect on herds and cowpunchers, had not been mentioned. Billy Johnson said, "I was a cowpuncher for over fifty years in all seasons of the year, and I can say that the strong lived through the hardships and that the weak did not last long. The cowpunchers were square-shooters, upright, and honest men; I never heard of a cowpuncher insulting a woman. If they were not up to par they were soon run out of the country." He went on to say, "I spent a lot of time on the range in the winter. Often we followed the herd for two hundred miles down toward Douglas. Sometimes we left the main outfit with a herd and would be gone until snow-fly. I remember one time in particular that five of us were caught in a blizzard. We were on the range between Whiskey Gap and Muddy Creek when the blizzard came down on us in the afternoon. Our saddle horses drifted with the storm, but we managed to keep the work horses near the wagon by feeding them grain which we had with us. The temperature dropped rapidly and the five of us got into bed and stayed there for three days and three nights. The mercury fell to forty below zero and we had to stay in bed to keep from freezing. One of the men froze his heel. How? He insisted on kneeling down to pray. The others were content to pray in bed. Most of the boys were Texas men—with the toughest bodies in the world. No, we didn't eat. The third day we got out and drove to a ranch on Lost Soldier, thirty miles distant. The rancher, whose name was Bohawk, fed us and made us comfortable. I've not forgotten the date, February 3, 1883."

In answer to the query as to what usually caused cattle to stampede, the veteran cowpuncher said, "A stampede was sometimes caused by a gulch into which the cattle stumbled and fell during a storm and in which they piled up in great heaps. A severe electrical storm often caused a stampede—the long horns of the cattle served as lightning rods for the fire to jump from the horns of one animal to another all through the herd. The herd went mad in an electrical storm. No, a cowpuncher will not leave his herd. To do such a thing would be against his code of honor."

Since the Oregon Trail cut its way thru the Sweetwater range country—and passed by the Tom Sun Ranch, I was curious to know of some possible experience he may have had with the emigrants traveling through a strange country. Mr. Johnson said, "yes, indeed! I saw hundreds of emigrant trains on the trail. The prairie schooners were hauled by bull teams and by mule teams. Invariably, the milk cows were tied behind the wagons. Many of the travelers camped near the Tom Sun Ranch, and often sickness kept them in camp longer than usual.

Often too, death took one of their party, as the graves along the trail show.

"No, I never attended the funeral of an emigrant, but on one occasion I was asked to take charge of the burial of a Texas cowpuncher, a handsome six-footer. He had been sick only a short time. I had ridden to Lander, about fifty miles, for medicine; although I lost no time and used relay horses, he died before I got back with the medicine. I read the burial service from the Episcopal prayer book, preached the sermon, and put him away right. His name was DeBardelaben.

After five years or so, Billy Johnson bought a ranch of about five hundred acres on the Sweetwater near Rongis—stage station on the Signor ranch—(Rongis is Signor spelled backwards). He remained on this ranch for several years building up a herd. Late in the eighties he sold to Senator Jim Graham. It was during the years on this ranch that Billy Johnson was elected commissioner of Fremont County. This was the beginning of his many years in public office.

### **The Heenan Family**

Meanwhile the Heenan family were living busy lives and making history in the South Pass Country.

In 1868 when the Union Pacific Company was building the railroad across the continent many of its builders stopped when they reached Cheyenne. Margaret Burk, who had come to America from Ireland with her parents, and whose mother's death occurred soon after coming to America, came to Cheyenne with some friends who were railroad builders. She had learned the dressmaking trade and found Cheyenne a good field for her work.

Among the many railroad builders in Cheyenne was Michael Heenan and his brother, James, who had recently left the Fort Laramie country where they had operated a ferry on the Platte River. It was in Cheyenne that Margaret Burk and Michael Heenan met and were married. After their marriage they left Cheyenne and went on with the railroad builders until they reached the Point of Rocks across the Divide—a relay point for the Ben Holliday Overland Trail stages. The young couple left the railroad there and followed the gold-seekers to the South Pass country, pinnacle of the Continental Divide. They lived in the flourishing mining town of South Pass City for a short time and then went to Atlantic City, site of Fort Stambaugh, in 1870. Finally, they moved again, as was the custom of the gold-seekers, to Miner's Delight, a few miles distant.

The Heenans prospered financially. Also, while in the gold country, two children, James and Mary, were born to them.

### Michael Heenan's Tragic Death

Their home was sixty miles from the Shoshone Indian Reservation, but they felt no fear from that source, because of the distance. However, they soon learned of many depredations committed by the Indians. Emigrants and ranchers were being murdered and their livestock and provisions stolen. The Indians had a wild desire for horses, and it was because of their great passion for horses that Michael Heenan met his death. He was hauling hay one day on Twin Creek Hill, close to Miner's Delight, when he was attacked by the Siouxs. The Indians escaped with his mules—four valuable animals.

Three days after Michael Heenan's death his daughter Emma, who was to become Mrs. Billy Johnson, was born.

Mrs. Johnson told the story of her father's death as her mother had often told it to her: "He went out in the evening to gather some hay for his mules. Mother said he told her goodbye, and when he kissed her, laughingly assured her that the Indians would not get him, and that he would be right back. When he failed to return, someone went out to look for him and found his body. The evidence showed that the Indians had hidden in a grove of quaking aspen trees and had shot him from ambush. They did not destroy the wagon, but had had cut the tugs of the harness, and made away with the mules."

Mrs. Heenan, left alone in a strange land with her three small children, did the best she could, as many of the pioneer mothers have done. She did not have time to think of herself; it was necessary for her to provide for and to rear her little family. She opened a boarding house in Miner's Delight and was very successful in her undertaking. Her three children, Emma, Mary and Jim spent their early childhood there.

Mrs. Johnson (Emma) said that her mother was a very good business woman and possessed a good supply of natural initiative. She recalled seeing her mother place gold nuggets in a pickle bottle which she kept for that purpose. When the bottle was full she had one hundred dollars worth of gold. With her savings she bought the first cow of a later sizable herd. Her brand was Circle H, for Heenan. She was one of the first women in Wyoming to have a herd on the range.

After several years Mrs. Heenan married Peter P. Dickinson, one of the three original owners of the townsite of Lander. He had come to the mountain country from New York to open an Indian trading post on the Shoshone Indian Reservation. He also opened a store in Lander. Later, he went into the cattle business on the Gooseberry, one hundred miles north of Lander. Two children, Margaret and William, were born to Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson. Mrs. Dickinson, reluctant to shift the responsibility of her first family to Mr. Dickinson, who necessarily spent a great deal of time on the ranch in the Gooseberry



country, opened a boarding house in Lander—"Cottage Home Hotel".

### Early Days in Lander

Mrs. Johnson's account of her childhood life in the frontier town of Lander is enlightening. She said, "We had a very happy life, our chief amusement was horseback riding. We took long rides into the hills, mounted on side-saddles or bareback; but we girls always rode sideways. I remember the first riding skirt to appear in the town. Mrs. R. H. Hall who came to Lander a bride, wore the long flowing skirt as she rode along the road. To watch her was an event for us. Mrs. Hall was my first school teacher, and a most lovable woman.

"Fishing was one of our favorite sports. We went on all-day fishing trips to the North Fork and brought home the lovely mountain trout. We had great times sleighing on a bob-sled, and sleigh-riding in a cutter in the winter time.

"Lander has always been a beautiful spot the year round, but in the winter season when it is snow-covered, it is like a warm nest between high white mountains. In my childhood it was just a little village of a few stores and home dwellings, all built of logs. Originally it was a military camp known in 1870 as Camp Brown. The population was between seven and eight hundred people and consisted of gold miners from the South Pass country, both Yankees and Southerners who had drifted in after the close of the Civil War.

"The townsite was originally owned by three men, Peter Dickinson, who afterward became my step-father, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Amoretti. Each of them owned a third of the land, and it was they who laid out the town.

"Saloons and gambling places were open twenty-four hours a day. People from what is now east Sublette, upper Sweetwater, Fremont, Hot Springs, and Park counties came to Lander to trade.

"There was a Catholic church, which was later followed by an Episcopal, a Congregational, a Methodist, and others.

"Shoshone Reservation, right at Lander's door, had the Saint Stephens, Catholic mission.

"The Shoshone Indians lived on the reservation, in their tepees, and traded at the Indian trading post.

"There was one public school with about twenty pupils in attendance. There were the Coffees, the Boyds, and the Lamoreux all of half Indian blood. Jean Amoretti had a folding slate of which he was very proud. I was the only girl to whom he would lend the slate. Naturally I felt quite flattered. The Baldwin children whose parents were Major and Mrs. Noyes Baldwin were there with us also. All of the children were from wealthy families in the cattle business. There were no poor people in Lander at that time and all families were equal.

The Indian women were good mothers and homemakers, and their children were our friends.

"After I had finished the first school, I attended a girl's school where we received special instruction. Later mother took us children to Salt Lake City where for a year we attended the convent school of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. The two years following I attended the school as a boarding student. I made the trip to Salt Lake City by stage coach from Lander to Rawlins, and by train from Rawlins to Salt Lake City. Two days and two nights were required to make the journey of one hundred and thirty-five miles. Always an admirer of horses, I recall the beautiful four-horse teams which drew our coach. Four passengers could sit comfortably in the coach and there was room for one on the seat with the driver. Generally the trips were interesting, but always tiring. Sometimes we were caught in a storm, and then the coach wheels would sink in the mud up to the hubs. We stopped to change horses every ten miles or so at a stage station, where we also had our meals.

"Yes, the stage stations were rustic as well as rugged. Hewn logs formed the side walls, and the floors were the hard packed earth. Dirt roofs covered the structure. One long table supported by saw-bucks was spread family style, the only covering being oil-cloth. There was one exception to the regular custom in table covering. One of the stations stands out in my memory because its board was always dressed in a red table cloth on which stood bright silver casters. Another reason the red cloth stands out in my thoughts is the fact that good apple pie was served at that particular place. We stopped three times a day for meals, and once at night.

"My sister, Mrs. 'Missou' Hines, also received her education in Salt Lake City at the convent. My brother James, deceased, graduated from Notre Dame. My brother Will, deceased, was graduated from Illion, New York. Margaret, who passed away in 1940, was a graduate of Ann Arbor Law School. Mother went to Ann Arbor to live while Margaret attended school."

### Experiences at a Trading Post

"Yes, I spent a great deal of time in my step-father's store in the Indian trading post, helping him regularly on the Indians' pay-day which came quarterly. The store was a long low cabin, gaily colored with the wares dear to the Indian heart. The Indians, bucks, squaws, and their children crowded in, dressed in blankets and moccasins; their hair, regardless of sex, hung in braids. There was no loud talking or boisterous scuffling amongst them. They very seldom talked with us. But if they did so, they laughed their beautiful musical laugh when they caught us making an error in speaking their language. I knew a few of their phrases; enough to be able to transact the neces-

sary sales with them. The Arapahoes spoke in a guttural tone, and the Shoshones used a head tone. The Indian women wore beaded moccasins, laced high above the ankle. They had beautiful feet and ankles before they began wearing the American shoe, which invariably is fitted too small.

"It was the Indians' custom to have their money changed into five-cent coins so that it would last longer, and so that they could buy candy, popcorn, toys, and other trinkets for their children. After the children were satisfied they then bought for themselves with what was left of their money.

"Contrary to common belief, the Indians have a keen sense of humor. They also love to gamble, the squaws being inveterate gamblers. They had a hide-out up on the Little Wind River, where they went to play cards. (Their game was known as Monte.) Very slyly, they called the place the Guild, without respect for their missionary training.

"My brother, Jim, and James Moore, his partner, had a store on the Reservation and they knew the Indian sign language. They were very popular with the Indians and had a great deal of influence with them. The Red Men are very good judges of human nature. The Indians, at that time were very fond of horses, and they thought nothing of stealing one. In fact they did not consider it stealing to take a horse, and I don't think they ever will.

"Many of their young men were sent away to school and really became educated in the American way. But no sooner did they return to the Reservation, then they donned their blankets and moccasins and went back to the tepee.

"I loved the Indians and often wished that the white man had let them alone. They were happier in their own way.

"St. Stephens Mission on the Big Wind River, conducted by the Sisters of Charity who taught the Indian children the domestic arts, as well as school lessons and religion, was supported by the J. A. Drexels of Philadelphia. Many of the girls sewed beautifully and were well trained housekeepers. They worked for the white families in the country, and on Sunday the Indian Boys' Choir sang in church in their Shoshone language. The Ethete Episcopal Mission was supported by a wealthy New York family. Bishop Thomas, Episcopal bishop, established it on the Shoshone Reservation, near the Little Wind River."

### **Boarders, Motley Array**

Mrs. Johnson's account and description of the patrons of her mother's boarding home was to open another door of the early life of the town of Lander. She said, "There were only a few hundred people in the town then, and there were seventeen saloons. Cowboys ate at the house and men traveling through the country also ate there. Oftentimes strangers

passing through the country stayed for several days, and after they had gone we would learn that they were horse thieves, rustlers, or bandits of some nature. Nevertheless, all men in the West had a profound regard for women. When I was quite a small girl, I remember seeing Butch Cassidy and Haynes, his partner in lawlessness, at the house. I thought Cassidy very handsome and admired him because he stole horses. Any man who loved horses enough to steal them had my childish admiration. Horses were my most beloved pets, and were to me what dolls are to the average little girl.—Well—yes, I've been told that I was a very good rider.

"Freighters, bull-whackers, and mule team drivers stopped at our home too. There was a great deal of money made in the freighting business before the railroad was built into Lander.

"One particular party of men who stopped at the house for one summer season, consisted of seven French noblemen. Two of them were Counts and one was a Baron. They had come to take up the cattle business. I remember how fine they looked in their leather boots, large hats, and black moustaches. They ate at a special table reserved for them and talked French to their interpreter. They had the same items on their menu, canned lobster, and sweet oil, for supper every day. They furnished the specials themselves. Of course, we children were deeply impressed. Some of the French Noblemen settled in the Big Horn Basin, and the others went north to the Gooseberry, but the hard winters were too much for them and proved their undoing and the loss of cattle broke them."

### Romance Follows Graduation

In honor of her graduation from the convent school in Salt Lake City, Emma Heenan's mother gave her a home-coming party. It was at this ever-to-be-remembered party that she met Billy Johnson.

"Before I knew him very long," said Mrs. Johnson, "I saw him riding into town on 'Black Smith' in a great cloud of dust, and waving a gun in each hand. That was when he took my eye. 'Black Smith', the great brown horse later became my very dear pet.

"The coming-out party," she continued, "was a huge success. The young people in Lander had some grand times together. Dances were the chief amusement and everyone in town was needed to make a crowd. Guests came from a hundred miles around. A stranger's coming to town usually was celebrated with a 'Social Hop'. The invitations were sent by word of mouth, and the girls, always in the minority, had a wonderful time, and were put on pedestals by the men.

"Other amusements were roller-skating, and the theatre. The theatre building was known as the opera house. We had



road shows occasionally, but usually local talent supplied the entertainment. We were very proud of some of our local talent. Mrs. Will Jones, Mrs. George West, and Mrs. P. B. Coolidge had studied in the East. Although our town was practically isolated, we enjoyed life to the fullest."

### **William G. Johnson and Emma Heenan Wed**

One day in October of 1891, the marriage of William G. Johnson and Emma Heenan took place in the Saint Stephens Mission Church. The Father of the Indian mission performed the marriage ceremony. After the wedding breakfast at which relatives and many friends were present, the newly married couple set out by stage in the direction of Rawlins, Wyoming. To thwart the plans of their many friends, to interfere in their getting away, the bridegroom cut the telegraph wires so they would not be stopped at Rawlins. They went directly to Mr. Johnson's old home, Badger Grove Farm near Des Moines, Iowa, where they visited and then proceeded to Tacoma, Washington, where they remained for the winter. The year 1891 saw a depression year and business conditions were poor in Washington state, as well as elsewhere. With the hope of finding improvement in the South they waited until spring and then went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, to make their home on the plantation of Mr. Johnson's brother-in-law.

"It was beautiful there," said Mrs. Johnson, "cotton, magnolia and cape jasmine grew all around us. We could hear the cathedral chimes from our home. The ex-slaves, everywhere, made me very nervous. They were too humble for human beings. I liked the Indians much better.

"We had beautiful horses and buggies and a lovely new home, but we could not stand the insects, nor could we reconcile ourselves to living in the South; although the Southern people were lovely to us. Perhaps it was that we could not be reconciled away from the West. Our first daughter Nellie, was born on the plantation.

"We moved to Badger Grove Farm, Iowa, where we fed cattle. Our three sons, Nicholas, Burk and Raymond were born there. After five years the drouth and cholera forced us to give it up. We returned to Wyoming and to Lander, to start anew."

### **Numerous Public Offices Held**

Upon their return to Lander Mr. Johnson again became active in public life. He was elected mayor of the town and served six or eight years. While in that office he led the movement to secure a railroad for the town. In 1905 the Northwestern railroad purchased a right-of-way through Fremont County to Lander and occasioned a great jubilee for the townspeople.

Amongst the notables who were present were United States Senator Clarence D. Clark whom Mayor Johnson had invited to speak, Ex-Governor of Wyoming, B. B. Brooks, Mr. M. N. Baldwin and Mr. S. C. Parks.

Billy Johnson served two terms as Sheriff of Fremont County, and was elected State Legislator and served six years. His integrity held the respect and confidence of the people. He was an outstanding figure of Fremont County, having played a leading part in its organization.

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's youngest child, Emma, was born in Lander. Each of the Johnson children received a higher education. Raymond finished at Harvard; Nicholas left college to enlist in the World War ranks, and saw over-seas service with the United States Infantry. Raymond was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in the Artillery Division. He is now an Electrical Engineer at Tensleep, Wyoming. Raymond was married to Laura Shatto in 1940.

Nicholas is on the home ranch at Crow Heart Butte where he lives with his family. His wife was the former Katherine Baker of Ogema, Minnesota. They have three children, Burk, Ann, and Billy.

The third Johnson son, Burk was a student at the Four C College in Des Moines, Iowa, when death took him. Nellie Johnson, their first child, received her education at Drake University and at the University of Wyoming; then her young life was cut short by death. The youngest, Emma, was also taken in early womanhood. Thus, great sorrow came to the Johnson home and as sorrow often does, mellowed their lives and drew the surviving members a little closer.

In 1915 the Johnson family moved to their ranch on Wind River near the Shoshone Indian Reservation and across the river from Crow Heart Butte. The ranch was then a virgin prairie with no improvements. They built their house, as well as all the other buildings on the ranch, including the barn, stables, etc., of native logs. Raymond made the home modern with electric lights and electric heat. Irrigation has made the place a beautiful spot. The Johnson Herford herd is known in the Wind River Country by the coffee-pot brand, burned on the left rib.

Crow Heart Butte, towering above Wind River across from the Johnson Ranch was so named by the Indians. The legend relates, according to Mrs. Johnson, that a battle between the Shoshones and the Crows took place on the flat top of the Butte—several acres covered with a heavy growth of greasewood—Chief Washakie clashed with the Crow Chief, and cut out his heart. To prove that he knew savage warfare Chief Washakie devoured the organ. Hence, the name, Crow Heart Butte.

When Mr. Johnson was appointed United States Land Registrar, he and Mrs. Johnson left the ranch and moved to Cheyenne where they now live in their comfortable home at 816 East 19th Street. Mrs. Johnson, a true daughter of the West, knows how to live happily in spite of the fact that she has had much sorrow. She accepts life as it comes.

Mr. Johnson is distantly related to the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, author of several historical books on Wyoming subjects. He is a descendent of one of the Raymond brothers of Massachusetts and Dr. Hebard was a descendant of the other brother. When the two brothers separated, Miss Hebard's ancestor went to Ohio and Mr. Johnson's forefather settled in Connecticut.

William G. (Billy) Johnson, a true cowpuncher of the West, gained his higher education by self counsel as he sat in the saddle and protected his herd. The power of the mountains, always before him inspired lofty ideals; the plains, endless in scope, gave him understanding and a breadth of vision which could not have been gained in cramped places. The elements which he was forced to fight that he might survive gave him fortitude. His wife and family gave him the faith, the hope, and the courage necessary to succeed.

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Written from interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Johnson in 1937.—A.M.S.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY  
C. G. COUTANT, PIONEER HISTORIAN,  
AND HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter XV

**Laramie County**

**Cheyenne Continued—The First Legislative Assembly—  
Woman Suffrage Champions—The Woman Suffrage  
Bill and Its Author—Discovering Its Merits—It Passes  
and Becomes a Law—Great Rejoicing.**

While not properly a part of the history of Laramie County—or rather, not exclusively so—yet as one of the important events happening in Cheyenne, which has, from the first, been the capital of Wyoming Territory, a brief allusion will here be made of the passage of the act giving to all women over twenty-one years of age the right to vote at any and all elections in Wyoming equally with its male citizens.

As we have already seen, members of the First Legislative Assembly were elected September 2, 1869, and in compliance with the proclamation of Governor Campbell they assembled at Cheyenne October 12, and proceeded to organize, Wm. H. Bright of Sweetwater county being elected president of the Council and S. M. Curran, then of Albany county, speaker of the House of Representatives. The other officers of the two branches of the legislature were Edward Orpen, secretary of the Council, Mark Parish, assistant, Chas. H. Moxley, sergeant at arms, T. S. Poole, chaplain, Peter Lemmon, messenger, and Henry Arnesfield, foreman. Of the House of Representatives, L. L. Bedell was made chief clerk, W. G. Stanley, assistant, T. S. Poole, chaplain, and Wm. Baker, sergeant at arms. The Council had no foreman or messenger.

The members of the two houses were as follows: Council, Wm. H. Bright, J. R. Whitehead, T. D. Murrin, T. W. Poole, F. Laycock, J. W. Brady, George Wilson, W. S. Rockwell, and G. W. Wardman. House, S. M. Curran, J. C. Abney, Herman Haas, Howard Sebree, Lewis Miller, J. N. Douglas, Ben Sheeks, James Monafer, James Holbrook, and J. M. Freeman. For want of a better place in which to hold the sessions of the legislature, Territorial Secretary Edward M. Lee had secured the "Arcade" building then standing on the present site of the Germania Hall on Sixteenth Street for the use of the House of Representatives, while for the Council an old wooden building then located where the Joslin & Park Block now stands, was secured.<sup>1</sup>

It is not proposed to follow the First Legislative Assembly and give even a synopsis of its work. It enacted the first civil and criminal codes, passed a crime act, and an act locating

1. Now the Popp block at the corner of Sixteenth Street and Carey Avenue.



the seat of government at Cheyenne, and in fact passed all the laws since formed in what has generally been termed by the judiciary and bar as the "Laws of '69" and did many things which might very properly be mentioned, but it is only in reference to the passage of the "Woman Suffrage Bill" that a brief record will be made here. Prior to the convening of the First Legislative Assembly many men and women of broad, enlightened and progressive views had come to Cheyenne for the purpose of making it their permanent residence, and this class was imbued with the correct idea that in laying the foundation and corner stone of the political liberties of an embryo state, great liberality as well as great care should be taken. The large and predominating class of respectable women who had at that time become residents of the "Magic City" were then, as they ever have been since, far superior to any equal numbers of their sisters to be found in any Eastern locality in culture, refinement and a proper appreciation of their rights, duties and obligations. This fact has always been recognized by the male element of the population and there is probably not a spot on earth where so much respect is manifested, felt and shown to the ladies as in Cheyenne.

Among the class now being alluded to in Cheyenne at that time were Mrs. J. A. Campbell (wife of the Governor) Mrs. A. R. Converse, Mrs. Jervis Joslin, Mrs. S. A. Bristol, Mrs. M. H. Arnold, Mrs. S. H. Pickett, Mrs. J. T. Chaffin, Miss Bristol (now Mrs. N. E. Stark) Mrs. M. E. Post, Mrs. Henry Houseman, and others, whose names are not readily obtainable, who believed that as a matter of right and justice they and their sisters who were to come should be accorded the right of suffrage. There were also many gentlemen in Cheyenne who believed the same cause right and foremost among them were Edward M. Lee, then Secretary of Wyoming, S. A. Bristol, M. A. Arnold, Dr. J. H. Hayford, and several others. The result was that a woman suffrage sentiment was awakened which finally extended to all classes of people in the city. Several of the persons who thus believed took active steps to give practical effect to their views, and after the legislature had been in session for some time it was proposed that a bill be introduced in the territorial council granting the right of suffrage to women in Wyoming.

In order that it might not have the appearance of being an exclusively "Cheyenne measure" the friends of the project decided to get some member from the western portion of the territory to introduce the bill.

Wm. H. Bright of Sweetwater county, then president of the Council, was selected for that purpose and he consented to introduce it, for he also was a firm believer in the right of women to the exercise of the elective franchise. The bill, which was drawn by Edward M. Lee, was as follows:

## A BILL

for

An Act to Grant to the Women of Wyoming Territory the Right of Suffrage to Hold Office.

Be It Enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

Section 1. That every woman of the age of twenty-one years residing in this territory may at every election to be holden under the laws thereof cast her vote and her right to the elective franchise and to hold office shall be the same under the election laws of this territory as those of electors.

Section 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The bill was introduced in the Council by Mr. Bright on the 2nd day of December, 1869. At first it was supposed by many people that it was meant as a joke, but gradually when it came to be understood that it was intended in all seriousness, the first feeling subsided and a profound sensation was created. When the first surprise was over, it was found that the greater portion of the members of the legislature were in favor of it. A ladies' committee, with Mrs. M. E. Post at its head, made a thorough canvass and it was ascertained that there would be no difficulty in securing its passage. The Cheyenne Leader and also the Wyoming Tribune came out heartily in its support, and as these two newspapers were the leaders of public sentiment nearly all classes of people in Cheyenne fell into line and insisted that the bill ought to be passed. With unusual promptness the bill was placed on its final passage in the Council, December 7th, and passed by a vote practically unanimous.

The roll being called in alphabetical order, Hon. J. W. Brady, a member from Uinta county, was the first man to place himself on record in support of the Bill. Several of the members of the Council, including Judge J. R. Whitehead, made short speeches—the Judge making an earnest and eloquent appeal in favor of its passage. The bill was at once sent to the House and on the 10th day of December, 1869, it came up on its final passage and passed that branch of the legislature by a practically unanimous vote.

While the bill was in committee of the whole in the House several members of that body expressed their views and among them Hon. J. C. Abney (favoring the bill) made an eloquent speech. "Jim" said afterward that he worked several days writing up that speech, but when he came to get up to deliver it he could not remember a word of that which he had so carefully prepared. He explained that he "tackled the subject at a 'go as you please gait'."

The bill was approved by Governor Campbell on the same day of its passage and thus became a law of the territory Decem-

ber 10th, 1869, on the same day that the act granting a charter to the City of Cheyenne was also passed and approved. The announcement of the passage and approval of the woman suffrage bill was hailed with delight by nearly everybody in the territory—not because it was something novel and experimental, but because the people of Wyoming had broad and liberal views and firmly believed in "the greatest good for the greatest number." Both of the Cheyenne papers came out in approving editorials and announced the fact also in their local columns in display type. Speeches were made, music was heard, congratulations were in order on every hand.

When the announcement was flashed abroad it sent a thrill throughout the civilized world and from that moment it became evident that sooner or later the example set by Wyoming, the youngest member of the sisterhood of states and territories composing the glorious American union, will be followed by them all, and that the grandest and purest political liberty which the world has ever seen and which, born in the "Magic City of the Plains," today clings like gathering mists around our mountain ranges, shall become the watchword and the motto of civilized people everywhere.

Kindled in the "Magic City,"  
Freedom's brightest flame arose,  
And through the states and empires  
Woke the myriads from repose.  
Hers to lead the march of suffrage,  
Going forward in the van  
In that cause which gives to woman  
Power and equal rights with man.

## Laramie County

### Chapter XVI

**Cheyenne Continued—The County Generally—A Destructive Fire in Cheyenne—The Denver Pacific Rail Road—Bottsford and Mason—A Clash with the Military—Decrease in Population—A Better State of Affairs—County and Municipal Elections.**

As before intimated, the history of events throughout the county of Laramie are so interwoven with that of Cheyenne after the city was once established, that they will be considered under the head of "Cheyenne" just as many things in the early history of the county were considered under the head of "Ft. Laramie and Vicinity" but it is in order at this point to take a glance abroad through other parts of the county, and see what has transpired since the reader has been watching the happenings in Cheyenne.

In brief it may be stated that the raids and depredations of the Indians—though on a small scale—still continued, and between the winter and spring of 1868 down to and including the year 1870, several persons were killed as was supposed by the Indians, that is, they were missed, and never heard of afterwards, and a large number of cattle and horses were, from time to time, run off by them, and their appearance in the region of country between Cheyenne and the North Platte River, and beyond, was very frequent. Still they made no very serious raids, nor attempted to re-enact the bloody tragedies of 1867-1868.

During this time new settlements—in the way of isolated ranches—were being made on the Chugwater, Laramie River, Horse Creek, Pole Creek, and in many other parts of the county, and people almost everywhere north of Cheyenne had, by the summer of 1870, become engaged in the stock business—a business destined in a short time to become the leading industry of the territory. Nearly every ranchman had a few cattle and horses, and some of them quite a large number. As early as the fall of 1870 there was much discussion and a comparison of notes among the stock men in regard to forming a stock association, which has since been done with such important and gratifying results.

The freighting business was becoming very great, and the roads leading northward were constantly thronged with trains and teams loaded with supplies for the Indian agency at Red Cloud, and for the military posts.

Much prospecting for gold and other minerals was done about this time in the region of Laramie Peak and Iron Mountain—a genuine mountain of iron which assays 87 per cent of pure iron, 55 miles northwest of Cheyenne—but no very satisfactory results had as yet been attained except in the matter of iron.

A project had been started having in contemplation the construction of a railroad from Cheyenne to Iron Mountain, and a company formed for that purpose, but as the necessary funds were lacking nothing was done, and the plan fell to the ground not to be revived again for years.

On the 11th day of January, 1870, the most destructive fire that has yet ever occurred in Cheyenne broke out in a wooden building then standing nearly on the present site of the two-story brick building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Eddy<sup>2</sup> Streets in Cheyenne, and before it could be checked the Ford House standing near by, and with it every building from Sixteenth to Fifteenth Streets, and from Ferguson through to Hill Street, was burned to the ground. Other fires had occurred

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<sup>2</sup>2. Eddy Street has been changed to Pioneer; Ferguson Street is now Carey Avenue, and Hill Street is now Capitol Avenue.



before that time which were very destructive—one in 1867 on what would now be called the McGregor corner,<sup>3</sup> and one the following year on the corner where now stands the clothing house of M. Marks occupied at this time (1886) by the Kellner Bros.<sup>4</sup> A large number of buildings (wooden) were destroyed by the flames on these occasions, and to protect the city a fire company, the Pioneer Hook & Ladder Company, was organized in April, 1869, and shortly after the Durant Fire Engine Company,<sup>5</sup> which company, with assistance from outsiders, purchased and put in running order the Durant Engine which has ever done such good service.

At the great fire alluded to these fire companies did valiant service, but no human power was equal to the task of staying the flames. This fire had a very depressing effect upon the city, and all kinds of business suffered greatly thereby.

During the summer of 1870 the Denver Pacific Railroad which had been in process of construction southward since the spring of 1869, was completed to Denver, and not, as many have supposed, from Denver to Cheyenne. This afforded communication by rail to the metropolis of Colorado, and had a material and beneficial effect on the growing business of southern Wyoming.

The vigilance committee had by this time about ceased to be heard of, for the double reason that there was now but little work for an organization of that kind to look after, and also because the law and its officers were now amply able to protect life and property, although occasionally there would be some pretty rough times. One of these occurred August . . . 1870, which came near plunging the city into very serious trouble, but which was happily avoided. At that time there was in the employ of the government at Camp Carlin<sup>6</sup> a man named A. J. Bottsford, who got into a quarrel with a Lieutenant Mason then stationed at the camp. The outcome of the quarrel was that Bottsford shot and killed his opponent. He then escaped to Cheyenne, where he was taken into custody by the civil authorities. The commander at Fort Russell demanded that the authorities surrender Bottsford to him. The demand was not complied with, whereupon several companies of troops under arms were marched to Cheyenne, and the threat was made that Bottsford would be taken from the authorities by force. The whole city was ablaze with excitement as soon as the situation was understood, and hundreds of men armed with revolvers, shot guns,

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3. Now the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Pioneer.

4. Now occupied by the Black and White Grocery, at the southwest corner of Pioneer Avenue.

5. Now the Cheyenne Fire Department.

6. Camp Carlin was located one and one-half miles northwest of the Cheyenne postoffice, at that time situated at the intersection of Seventeenth Street and Carey Avenue.

rifles, etc., flocked to the assistance of the civil authorities. A pitched battle seemed imminent for both sides were determined, especially the Cheyenneites. Finally Chief Justice J. H. Howe, then the presiding judge of the district, made his appearance and most solemnly assured the military commander that he had no right to demand the custody of Bottsford; that in all cases of that kind, the civil authorities had jurisdiction in preference to the military. He further assured the military authorities that if the attempt to take Bottsford was further persisted in, the matter would be by him promptly reported to Washington by telegraph.

These assurances made by Howe as to which really had jurisdiction had their weight with the military commander, whose name it is not necessary to mention—and the troops were withdrawn (Bottsford was eventually tried and acquitted.) He remained in Cheyenne for some time and was arrested and jailed for several months in 1874 for attempting to shoot Billy Jacobs. He was finally bailed out by Major Wooly, and went to the Black Hills, made a fortune which he soon squandered, and finally died of the delirium tremens.)

A word ought here to be said in regard to the courts of the territory, or rather of the members of the judiciary. John H. Howe, as we have already seen, was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the territory, and the associate justices were W. T. Jones and J. W. Kingman. Judge Howe was the presiding judge of the First District (Laramie and Albany counties), Judge Kingman, of the Second, and Judge Jones, of the Third. Originally Jones had the Second and Kingman the Third District, but the legislature of '69 re-arranged the two last named Judges as before stated. The first term of court was held at Cheyenne (by Judge Bartlett of Dakota) in March, 1868, and the second term in September of the same year. In compliance with the proclamation of Governor Campbell, another term was held in Cheyenne commencing September, 1869. The legislature which convened in October passed an act dividing the territory into judicial districts, Laramie and Albany counties constituting the first, and providing that there should be held annually three terms of court in Laramie County commencing on the third Monday of March, July and November, respectively.

During the spring and summer of 1870 the population of Cheyenne began to decrease very rapidly, owing to the fact that the Union Pacific Railroad in its progress westward had been the means of starting up quite a number of towns such as Laramie City, Carbon, Rawlins, Green River, etc., and to these the transient element had at first flocked, but later on the greater part of that class had passed out of the territory to the westward altogether. This marked decrease in the population in Cheyenne was not unlike the experience of other towns in the territory, and on the whole was not detrimental to its best

interests, but beneficial to them, as it took out of the city many hundreds of drones and non-producing people who would neither try to prosper themselves, nor allow others to do so if they could prevent it. To illustrate the falling off in the number of population, not only in Cheyenne but throughout the entire territory, it might be mentioned here that in the congressional campaign in the fall of 1870 the total number of votes polled in the entire territory was 3202, whereas in the Corlett-Nuckolls campaign of the year before the total vote cast was 5266 a decrease of 2064 in one year.

The election which was held September 6, 1870, was, as compared with that of the year before, a very tame affair, and yet considerable interest was manifested by the politicians in the progress of the campaign. Judge W. T. Jones was that year the Republican candidate for delegate in Congress, and Col. John Wanless the candidate of the Democrats. The result of the election in Laramie county was as follows: Jones 398 votes, Wanless 380, a majority of 18 for the former.

The following was the result on the vote for county officers: Sheriff, S. M. Preshaw, 369; T. Jeff Carr, 373; County Attorney, I. W. Cook, 391; H. Garbanti, 337; County Clerk, Mrs. C. H. Pickett, 339; L. Kabis, 349; Probate Judge, John Slaughter, 307; W. L. Kuykendall, 421; Assessor, J. K. Jeffrey, 314; John T. Chaffin, 413; Surveyor, John B. Thomas, 363; L. L. Bedell, 400, Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. M. H. Arnold, 368; W. J. Stanton, 402; County Commissioners, J. Joslin, 366; A. R. Converse, 322; I. C. Whipple, 318; T. Dyer, 435; M. E. Post, 409; J. H. Nuckolls, 358.

With the exception of county attorneys, the Democrats elected their entire ticket in Laramie county at this election. Two democratic justices and two constables for Cheyenne precinct were also elected at that time.

At the municipal election in the city of Cheyenne, held \* \* \* \* (Here the author made skeleton notes for insertion of names of trustees and president of the board, as well as for names of city officers appointed for the ensuing year.—Ed.)

## Laramie County

### Chapter XVII

**Cheyenne Continued — Cheyenne Prospers — \$10,000 Voted for School Building, Summer, 1871—Second Legislature Members Elected, September, 1871—Removal of Capital Attempted—Boisterous Scenes in Council and House—"Third House" Inaugrated as "Fun" Session.**

He who attempts to write a history is placed at a serious disadvantage as compared with the writer of fiction works—whether what is termed the "popular literature of the day," or

the dime novel, for as between them there is a difference in degree but not a difference in principle—for the latter can invent his own facts, and dress them up in the necessary amount of what Webster once termed "sentimental flap doodle" to make them readable, whereas the writer of history must take facts as they exist, and if he succeeds in so arranging and placing them before the public as far as possible in chronological order so as to make of them logical and systematic portions of the whole subject, he will be fortunate.

In the history of a nation, state, county, or city, there can be but two points toward which it can tend upward or downward. There is no such thing as a "stand still" history, for in this day and age of the world to remain stationery while the balance of the world is fast moving on is in reality but to fall behind. In other words, it is but the downward tendency. While at the beginning of the year 1871 Cheyenne had apparently, through various causes, come to a standstill, yet events occurred before the end of the year that served not only to rescue the Magic City from the fate which befell so many western towns at about this period—an almost total abandonment—but such as also assured for it a permanent and prosperous future.

There is little to record of any importance occurring in the spring and summer of 1871. The Indians still continued their depredations in a small way in the northern portion of the county, the stockmen made arrangements to engage more extensively in the cattle business for experience had taught them that with the exception of occasional hard storms designated as "blizzards," the weather in this part of the country for nearly the whole year round was but little else than one perpetual summer—hence the safety and durableness of engaging in the business mentioned, especially as Wyoming was found to be one of the best, if not the **very** best, grazing country in the world.

Notwithstanding the "hard times" which everybody complained of, a few of the public spirited citizens of the city headed by E. P. Johnson, Esq., and Col. E. P. Snow, resolved early in the summer of 1871 to build a school house which should be commodious and substantial, and suitable to the needs of the city. A meeting was called of the qualified voters of District No. 1, composed then of the entire county, and as the result \$10,000.00 was voted for the building of a school house, and its erection commenced as soon as practicable although it was not completed until the following year. (Here a half page is left blank in the manuscript.—Ed.)

The election held in September, 1871, for members of the Second Legislative Assembly resulted, so far as Laramie County was concerned, as follows:-



### Council

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| W. W. Corlett .....      | 324 |
| George Cassels.....      | 274 |
| W. R. Steele.....        | 343 |
| G. W. Corey.....         | 295 |
| Stephen F. Nuckolls..... | 353 |
| Daniel McLaughlin.....   | 274 |

### House of Representatives

|                       |     |
|-----------------------|-----|
| E. P. Johnson.....    | 310 |
| W. G. Piper.....      | 290 |
| Gibson Clark.....     | 314 |
| Appel.....            | 306 |
| W. L. Kuykendall..... | 332 |
| John Talbot.....      | 315 |

(The vote of two precincts in the county were not obtainable, but would not have changed the result.)

This elected Messrs, Corlett, Nuckolls and Steele to the Council, and Messrs. Kuykendall, Clark and Talbot to the House—all Democrats except Mr. Corlett.

The Second Legislative Assembly convened at Cheyenne early in November. S. F. Nuckolls was chosen president of the Council, and Ben Sheeks speaker of the House of Representatives.

No extended reference will here be made to the proceedings of this legislative body, for that properly belongs to another portion of this work, but as some important matters occurred which had a great influence upon the future of Cheyenne, they will be recorded at this point in the history of the city.

Cheyenne was, of course, then the capital of the territory, and, whether realized by themselves or not, a purpose existed in the minds of the greater part of the members from other portions of the territory to remove the seat of government to some other town further west. The Cheyenne members and people were determined that the plan should not succeed.

When the appropriation bill came up for discussion in the Council toward the latter part of the session, a disposition was at once manifested on the part of western members to refuse to pass it, thinking (it was supposed) that if they persisted in this course Governor Campbell would sign a capital removal bill which they expected to pass (and could not do over his vote) as a compromise with them if they would vote for the appropriation bill—although there is no evidence whatever that any agreement was made as the subject broached.

As chairman of the Appropriation Committee, W. W. Corlett had charge of the bill after it made its appearance in

the Council, and at once a strong opposition to the passage of the bill was developed.

President Nuckolls of the Council who had not been let into the secret by the western members that their real game was the removal of the capital, for that gentleman was opposed to any such measure, acted with the opposition to the appropriation bill—so far as he consistently could—for the reason that the gentlemen opposing it were of his political stripe. This fact made the situation, so far as the framage of the bill was concerned, a very gloomy one. During the debates and parliamentary conflicts which occurred while the appropriation bill was pending in the Council, the party and friends of both sides became very much excited. Armed men thronged the lobby of the Old Rollins House (afterwards the American House) which then stood where the "Liberty Block" now stands on Sixteenth Street in Cheyenne, in the upper story of which the legislature held its sessions. Bloodshed was imminent, and as the debate progressed the throng in attendance became more numerous and more demonstrative. Col. S. W. Downey of Laramie City was a member of the Council, and he, with a few others, labored very faithfully to prevent an open outbreak, but at times it seemed that a general shooting affair could not be prevented.

On the day when the appropriation bill was placed on its final passage, Mr. Corlett, who had the floor, moved that the bill be made the special order for 4 p.m. of the same day. For some reason best known to the President of the Council, he refused to put the motion. Mt. Corlett then undertook to take an appeal from the decision of the chair, whereupon President Nuckolls ordered the sergeant-at-arms to arrest him, and remove him from the hall of the house. Instantly a number of revolvers were drawn and pointed at the officer, who dared not move a step. Corlett then, amidst great excitement, moved the deposition of the president, and, contrary to the general expectation, the motion was carried. President Nuckolls refused to surrender the chair, and a general uproar followed. The friends of those who had moved and carried the motion to depose Nuckolls were preparing to put it in force **by** force when some of the cool-headed ones came to their rescue. A parley ensued, and a compromise was effected whereby Mr. Corlett moved a reconsideration of the vote whereby the presiding officer had been deposed, which was carried, as well as a motion to expunge from the record all that related to the unfortunate proceedings.

Unknown to Mr. Corlett, and also to President Nuckolls (for the arrangement had not in all respects been a very creditable one) an arrangement had been effected by which the appropriation bill was not to be further resisted, so that when finally placed on its passage there was not a vote against it. Neither of the gentlemen last alluded to, nor Governor Camp-

bell, had anything whatever to do with this "arrangement" by means of which this was effected. But the troubles were not as yet all through with. The nominations for territorial officers had not as yet been sent to the Council by Governor Campbell, and part of the original plan was to reject them all in a lump. It so happened that just before the nominations were sent to the Council, Col. Steele and a Democratic member from the western portion of the territory left the Council chamber. While they were absent the communication from the Governor containing a full list of the nominations was received. In an instant Mr. Corlett moved that the Council go into executive session for the purpose of considering the nominations. The motion was put and carried (it having been seconded by Col. Downey.) The lobby was at once cleared and the doors closed and locked. By this time some of the knowing ones had taken the alarm and frantic efforts were made to find Col. Steele and the other missing member, for without their votes the nominations were sure to be confirmed. They were found at last over at Colonel Murrins on important (?) business, and hurried to the Council chamber, but when they arrived there the door was still locked, and no amount of knocking and expostulations would induce the sergeant-at-arms to open it. When the doors were finally opened it was too late for the nominees had all been confirmed.

While these scenes were being enacted in the Council, scenes almost as boisterous were being enacted in the House of Representatives. A bill was introduced in that body repealing the woman suffrage act which elicited much discussion, but was finally defeated by a large majority. Then came the capital removal bill which finally passed the house by a vote of . . . . . to . . . . .,\* Messrs. Clark, Kuykendall and Talbot having made the best fight possible against it. The bill provided that the seat of government should be located at Laramie City.

When the capital removal bill was reported in the Council three days before the final adjournment, Messrs. Nuckolls, Corlett and Steele, almost for the first time during the session, were found shoulder to shoulder, and it must be confessed that they made a pretty strong team. By shrewd parliamentary tactics, action regarding the bill was delayed until the last day but one of the session. It then came up in committee of the whole and after the most protracted debate of the session in which all sorts of arguments were resorted to, the committee arose, and by a vote of 5 to 3 recommended that "it do pass."

After President Nuckolls resumed the chair "filbustering" began. All sorts of motions were made by Mr. Corlett, seconded by Col. Steele, and put by President Nuckolls. Some of these motions were not strictly in order, but they were entertained

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\*Short lines, . . . . ., indicate either that a word was omitted by Mr. Coutant or is not legible.

by the chair. The yeas and nays were called on every motion made, and motions to adjourn were constantly being made. In this way the Laramie county members succeeded in carrying the bill over until the last day of the session. Then it was that Messrs. Corlett, Nuckolls and Steele proposed, as they termed, to "be heard" on the bill. The arrangement was for Steele to speak first, Mr. Nuckolls was to follow, and then Mr. Corlett was to take the floor and hold it against "the world, the flesh and the devil" until the session of the legislature should expire by constitutional limitation, if necessary. When Col. Steele came into the Council chamber the next day he had no collar on, but in its stead a red handkerchief tied around his neck, and when the proper time came he had but little difficulty in obtaining the floor to speak on the bill—he might have had some difficulty in this respect, however, had not one of his colleagues been occupying the chair.

When Colonel Steele arose to speak on the bill he explained that he had tied a handkerchief around his neck to keep from taking cold. He also exhibited a box of troches which he said he purchased at the drug store as he came along that morning as sometimes his throat would begin to get a little sore after he had talked a half day or such a matter. With this explanation the Colonel began, having with him a history of the United States, "Mr. President, three hun-d-r-e-d and seventy nine years ago Christopher Columbus first discovered America. This was in the year 1492. Yes, Mr. President, fou-r-t-e-e-n hu-n-d-r-e-d and n-i-n-e-t-y two years had elapsed since the crucifixion on Mt. Calvary, and I—" "Mr. President" exclaimed councilman John Fosher of Sweetwater County, "I want to ask the gentleman if he will allow me to make a motion" Col. Steele explained that he would give way for that purpose, whereupon Mr. Fosher said: "Mr. President as the gentleman chose the date of the discovery of America as the point at which to commence his argument, and as he, instead of coming this way by one fell swoop, has gone back more than 1400 years, and as life is short, I move, Sir, that this bill be indefinitely postponed." The motion was put and carried before Col. Steele had time to close his book which he had open and spread out on the desk before him.

This ended the attempt to remove the capital from Cheyenne and thus it is seen that as stated at the opening of this chapter, that what the Second Legislative Assembly did at this session—or rather what it failed to do—had a wonderful effect on the future of Cheyenne, for it settled the question which had been in the minds of many as to whether the "Magic City" had become and would remain a permanent and prosperous town or not. In the minds of sagacious business men there have been no misgivings since that legislature adjourned.



T. J. Street and Warren Richardson, both of Cheyenne at that time, were respectively secretary of the Council, and chief clerk of the House at that session of the legislature.

It was during this session that the "Third House" with Colonel Murrin as speaker, was first organized.

This house is composed of regular members and everybody else who desires to have a little fun, and from that time down to the present time the "Third House" has been called together at nearly every session of the legislature, and has passed some truly wonderful bills.

During the second session the members of the two houses presented Colonel Luke Murrin with a large, beautiful and costly mirror which he still has in his establishment on Sixteenth Street in Cheyenne.

(To be continued)

**ACCESSIONS**

to the

**WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT**

April 1, 1941, to June 30, 1941.

**Miscellaneous Gifts**

Milatzo, Mrs. Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Gun used in the Civil War, owned by her late husband. Mr. Milatzo was deputy Italian Consul for Wyoming for 35 years.

Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Ten relics from site of old Camp Carlin (now Fort Warren) picked up in 1940: Horse shoe; hand made nail,  $5\frac{3}{4}$ " long; telegraph insulator; croquet ball; clamp or catch on one side of wire splice for splicing telegraph wires; washer from a wagon; hand made horse shoe nail; machine made horse shoe nail; belt buckle; a tug clevis.

Ryan, Walter J., 810 N. G. Street, Tacoma, Washington—Diary of his grand father, Benjamin William Ryan, written while on a trip on the Bozeman Trail in 1864.

University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming—Nine plaster casts of petroglyphs from Medicine Creek cave.

Atherly, Clyde W., Cheyenne, Wyoming, and his sister, Mrs. Doris B. Spurrier, McCook, Nebraska—Ivory Gavel, with gold trim, presented to their father, J. S. Atherly, Speaker of the House, 6th State Legislature, 1901.

Henderson, Harry B. Sr., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Printed program and menu of Robert Burns Anniversary observance in Cheyenne, 1882.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  x  $6\frac{3}{4}$ ". New Year greeting card, dated 1879, with names of E. A. Slack, editor Cheyenne Sun; W. H. Hibbard, old-time official of Western Union, brother-in-law of Erasmus Nagle; A. C. Snyder, one of early superintendents of Western Union, later was postmaster; G. W. Hoyt, druggist; W. S. Tobey, Supt. U. P. Express; G. W. Jones, who worked for Western Union in Cheyenne.

Brown, Mary A., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Souvenir metal badge inscribed "Opening of the Shoshone Indian Reservation, Lander, Wyo., July 16 to August 16, 1906."

Smith, Mrs. Leona, 720 E. 21st Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming—New York State World War medal; belonged to her husband, Frank N. Smith, of Buffalo, New York. He had received the Purple Heart.

**Pictures -- Gifts**

Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado, through James R. Harvey, Assistant Curator—Collection of 58 photographs by W. H. Jackson, consisting of views of Yellowstone Park, and other scenes.

State Engineer's Office, through L. C. Bishop, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Two framed pictures, Yellowstone Park, taken in 1892, by William H. Jackson: Yellowstone Lake, Mary's Bay, and Yellowstone Lake west of Mary's Bay; Teton Range ( $28\frac{1}{2}$ " wide x 64" long.)

Gereke, A. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Four picture cuts. Albert D. Kelly; Judge Samuel T. Corn; Maj. P. A. Gatchell; old Presbyterian Church, Cheyenne; old signature cut of Clarence T. Johnston, carved of wood.

Brown, Dr. Mary, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming—Photographic reproduction of genealogy of the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, prepared by Dr. Brown.

Spring, Agnes Wright, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Five 1940 photographs: Marker at site of old South Bend Stage Station; two views of South Bend Stage Station near Granger; two views of the old Almond Stage Station at Point of Rocks, Sweetwater County,  $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Photographs of membership of Cheyenne Bicycle Club in 1893, being 60 pictures, each  $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ , mounted on a placard  $36 \times 44''$ , dated 1893.

#### **Books -- Purchased**

Rollinson, John K.—Pony Trails in Wyoming, 1941.

Blake, Herbert, Cody— . . . The Truth about Buffalo Bill, 1929.

Writer's Program, W.P.A., State of Wyoming—Wyoming, a Guide to its History, Highways and People, 1941.

#### **Newspapers -- Gifts**

Goldstein, Abraham, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Complete file, in ring binding, of Wyoming Jewish Press, founded in 1930, and published annually by Mr. Goldstein, who first came to Wyoming in 1900.

# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

October, 1941

No. 4

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Irene Large and Gloria Isis, great granddaughters of Sacajawea, unveiling marker near Fort Washakie, Wyoming, at ceremony presided over by L. L. Newton of Lander, September 26, 1941. See account of Dedication on page 351.

Published Quarterly

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THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

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# Annals of Wyoming

Volume 13

October, 1941

No. 4

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THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

GLADYS F. RILEY

State Librarian and Historian

Cheyenne, Wyoming



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The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assumes no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

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The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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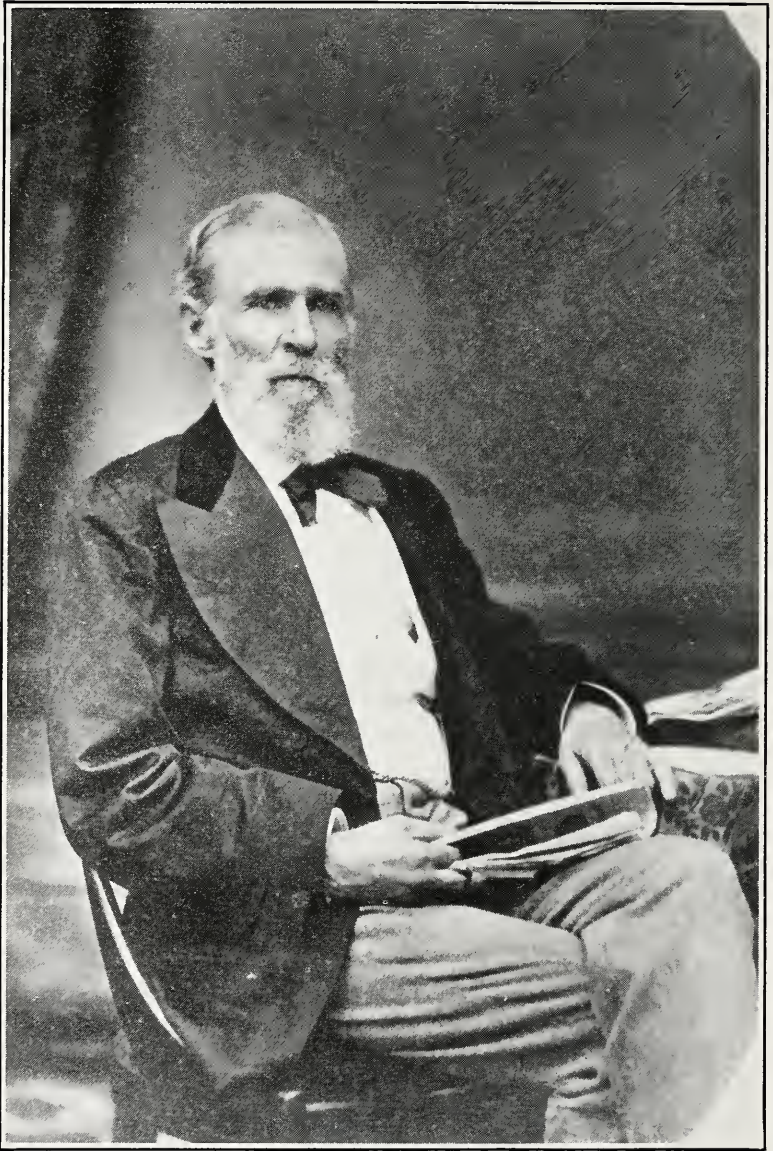
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WILLIAM G. BULLOCK

# Old Letter Book

DISCLOSES ECONOMIC HISTORY OF FORT LARAMIE  
1858-1871

Transcribed and Edited  
By Agnes Wright Spring\*

## Part I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this manuscript is to give in detail some of the transactions which took place at old Fort Laramie, as recorded in the papers and letters of William G. Bullock, agent of Post Sutler Seth E. Ward, covering the years 1858-1871.

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Agnes Wright Spring was born at Delta, Colorado, but came with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon L. Wright, to Wyoming in 1902. Her Paternal Grandmother, Mrs. Isaac Wright and children settled in Wyoming in 1884. Mrs. Spring, a graduate of the University of Wyoming, Laramie, was an assistant for four years to the eminent historian, the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor of Political Economy at the University, and under whose influence she became absorbingly interested in western historical research.

For five years, 1913-1918, she served as Assistant State Librarian, and from 1918-1921, she held the office of State Librarian when she resigned to marry Archer T. Spring. From 1918-1919, she also was ex-officio State Historian and State Superintendent of Weights and Measures.

Mrs. Spring studied at the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, and has followed a successful career of editorial work and authorship.

Since 1914 she has been editor of two departments of the Wyoming Stockman-Farmer, published monthly at Cheyenne, Wyoming, and from 1938 to the present time (1941) she has served as supervisor of the Wyoming Writers' Project, with headquarters at Cheyenne.

While in this latter position, Mrs. Spring supervised and edited a 500-page illustrated volume of the current American Guide Series which came off the press in April, 1941, with the title, *Wyoming, A Guide to its History, Highways, and People*. She, also, is the author of many chapters included in the book.

For seven years she was editor of *The Arrow*, organ of Pi Beta Phi sorority, and as historian of the national organization, she was the author of The History of Pi Beta Phi. In 1927, her Caspar Collins was published, and she has written the *Autobiography of William C. Deming*, 1940. Mrs. Spring has written and sold approximately 300 juvenile stories, plays, feature articles and fiction.

In the early 1900's, Mrs. Spring's father, a pioneer ranchman on Little Laramie river, ran the stageline from Laramie to the Keystone and Rambler Mines, and her mother was postmistress at Filmore, Wyoming, in Albany County, for more than twenty-five years. Mr. Wright passed away in 1931, and Mrs. Wright's death occurred in 1941.

Agnes Wright and Archer T. Spring, a native of Massachusetts, and a graduate of the Colorado School of Mines at Golden, were married at Denver, Colorado, on February 14, 1921. They reside at 1722 Warren Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Among these papers have been found the names of many of the prominent citizens of Wyoming and Colorado who served in the military at Fort Laramie or who were in some way connected with its history. These names include such men as: O. P. Wiggins, Jim Bridger, Jim Beckwourth, Antoine and Nicholas Janis, Malcolm Campbell, Michael Henry, E. W. Whitcomb, Kit Carson, James Bordeaux, John Hunton, Hi Kelly, James H. Cook, Seth Ward, St. Vrain, Antoine LaDeau, Jim Baker, Joseph Bissonette, John Reshaw, W. G. Bullock, Dick Parr, J. D. Woodruff, Frank Ecoffey, Gibson Clark, Baptiste Garnier and Baptiste Pourier and many others.

Much has been written about Fort Laramie as a rendezvous for trappers and traders and as a military garrison, but comparatively little has been printed about its economic history. The sutler's store at the fort served as general supply house and was the chief banking institution for the outlying posts for hundreds of miles around. Through the hands of the sutler and his agent and clerks there passed promissory notes mounting up to thousands of dollars each. There were checks and deposits of credit to be paid all the way from Utah to Ireland and from Montana to Virginia.

The financial affairs of the army in the early days were carried on through the office of the Assistant Treasurer in New York City. And before the advent of the Pony Express and the telegraph, one hundred twenty-three days were required to transmit papers from Fort Laramie to New York City and return.

The site of Fort Laramie was originally a rendezvous where the white men traded with the Indians under the direction of Jacques La Ramee (Laramie), a French Canadian.

(John Hunton,<sup>1</sup> who worked in the sutler's store for Seth Ward and his assistant, W. G. Bullock for four years, and who afterwards was himself post trader at Fort Laramie, said: "Jim Bridger told me that he came to this place in the fall of 1817 and that old La Ramee and his people or his outfit were here then. This outfit, La Ramee would divide up into groups and send them to hunt for beaver on the Platte and north to Running Water.<sup>2</sup> Bridger said, 'In the last trip or division that was made, he, La Ramee, went up the Laramie River in the spring and we came back here and stayed around. All of the trappers came in from time to time but no La Ramee ever returned.' " Two years later in about 1820, according to Bridger's account, a

1. John (Jack) Hunton, who died in September, 1928, at the age of 88 years, knew more about the history of Fort Laramie than any other individual. He arrived at the post in 1867 where he worked for four years. For 60 years he either lived at that place or in the immediate vicinity, purchasing the Fort from the Interior Department when it was abandoned in 1890. He sold the property in 1919 and moved to Torrington, Wyoming, but always retained his interest in Fort Laramie.

(2. Running Water is the same as Niobrara or L'Quicoult (Lo-Co-Co))



trapper brought word that the Indians had killed a man at the mouth of Sybille creek and had put the body under the ice at the beaver dam. This river, into which the Sybille emptied, was eventually named for the missing trapper.

(In 1834, Robert Campbell and William L. Sublette, who had been trapping in the Rocky Mountains for some ten or eleven years, having come west as members of the Ashley Expedition, decided to build a post on Laramie's Fork. It was necessary that Sublette return to St. Louis on business, so Robert Campbell remained and with a number of French Canadians and some half-breeds from St. Louis, started to work to erect a structure on the left bank of the Laramie, about a half mile above its junction with the North Platte.)

Some say that Campbell called the post Fort William in honor of his partner, Sublette. According to Anderson's Journal<sup>1</sup> it was named for three men who were present during its building: William Sublette, William Patton and William Marshall. In 1835, Campbell and Sublette sold out to a syndicate of trappers at the head of which were Milton Sublette and Jim Bridger who had as associates, Fitzpatrick, La Jeunesse, A. M. Anderson and old Jack Robinson, who continued the organization under the name of Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Later the same season they sold the post to Lucien Fontenelle of the American Fur Company, which had been founded several years previously by John Jacob Astor.)

For a time both names—Fort William and Fort John—were used in designating the fort and then, it is said, that a shipping clerk made a mistake and marked a box for "Ft. Laramie" instead of "Ft. John on the Laramie." Robert Campbell<sup>2</sup> saw at once that the new name was a good one, so immediately changed the name to Laramie.

In 1842, Fremont mentioned the old Adams Fort at the mouth of the Laramie River and then described Fort Laramie as follows:

"Like the post on the South Fork (St. Vrain), it was built of earth and still unfinished, being enclosed with walls (or rather houses) on three sides and open on the fourth to the river. A few hundred yards brought us in view of the post of the American Fur Company, called Fort John, or Laramie. This was a large post, having more the air of military construction than the fort<sup>3</sup> at the mouth of the river. It is on the left bank,

1. See January, 1940, issue of THE ANNALS OF WYOMING, article by Dan W. Greenburg, entitled, "How Fort William, Now Fort Laramie, Was Named," being a review of "Anderson's Narrative of a Ride to the Rocky Mountains in 1834," from Anderson's Journals edited by Albert J. Partoll, of Missoula, Montana.

2. Morris, Robert: Wyoming Historical Collections, Vol. 1: "Mr. Campbell changed the name of the fort. I have this fact from Mr. Campbell himself."

3. Fort Adams



on a rising ground some twenty-five feet above the water; and its lofty walls, whitewashed and picketed, with the large bastions at the angles, gave it quite an imposing appearance in the uncertain light of evening. A cluster of lodges, which the language told us belonged to the Sioux Indians, was pitched under the walls and, with the fine background of the Black Hills and the prominent peak of Laramie mountain, strongly drawn in the clear light of the sky, where the sun had already set, the whole formed at the moment a strikingly beautiful picture . . . . the fort is a quadrangular structure, built of clay, after the fashion of the Mexicans, who are generally employed in building them. The walls are fifteen feet high, surmounted with a wooden palisade, and form a portion of ranges of houses, which entirely surround a yard of about one hundred and thirty feet square. Every apartment has its door and window—all, of course, opening on the inside. There are two entrances, opposite each other, and midway the wall, one of which is a large and public entrance; the smaller entrance is a square tower, with loop-holes, and, like the rest of the work, built of earth. At two of the angles, and diagonally opposite each other, are large square bastions, so arranged as to sweep the four faces of the walls."

Robert Campbell was one of the ablest leaders of Captain William Sublette. He was quiet, dignified, and yet a man of great force. He settled disputes and bickerings with a word. When it was necessary to fight, though, he always gave a perfect account of himself, taking part in several of the worst encounters ever fought in the wilderness. He was loved by the mountain men throughout the entire country. It is not known just how long he stayed at Fort Laramie, but it was not a great while until he moved to St. Louis where he headed a large mercantile establishment which became the most popular outfitting place for fur traders and trappers. Supplies from Robert Campbell & Company were sent all over the Rocky Mountain country.

It is through the letters to Robert Campbell & Company, that W. G. Bullock expresses his real views on events that were taking place at Fort Laramie in the late sixties. One of the last letters in the collection, written by S. E. Ward, relates to the expenses of Robert Campbell as a member of the Indian Peace Commission.

Thirty-four years after he built Fort William, Robert Campbell visited the Fort, at the request of the Government, to treat with the Sioux. Felix R. Brunot accompanied him on this trip. Campbell was warmly received by both the white men and the red upon that occasion.

After Campbell and Sublette sold out to the American Fur Company in 1835, two men, Sybille and Kiplin, were sent out

to invite the Indians to come to the post to trade. As a result, more than 100 lodges of Ogalalla Sioux under Bull-Bear returned to make the post their headquarters.

For the next few years, French was spoken at Fort Laramie with some poor English and many Indian dialects mixed in. Thousands of Indians and free trappers came to the place, many of them being squaw men. In 1842 (Papin) Papan was the legitimate bourgeois of the post and in his absence Bordeaux was in charge.

When Fremont visited the fort in 1842, he recommended to the government that a line of military posts be erected across the frontier for the protection of emigrant travel.

It was not, however, until June 1849,<sup>1</sup> that the Government, acting through Lieutenant Woodbury of the United States Army Engineer Corps, purchased Fort Laramie, at a cost of \$4,000, from Mr. Bruce Husband, agent of the American Fur Company. This purchase price was for buildings. It included no land as the land was claimed by the Indians.

The first troops to occupy the Fort were Companies C and D of the Third Regiment of Cavalry, known as the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen under Major Winslow F. Sanderson, and Company G. 6th U. S. Infantry, comprising fifty-eight men and five officers.

The first report sent to the Secretary of War from Fort Laramie was dated June 27, 1849, and was signed by Major W. F. Sanderson, commander, in which he said: "The entire command, excepting eight men for stable police, are employed in cutting and hauling timber, burning lime, cutting and making hay, etc. etc."

During the fall of that year a bridge was constructed across the Laramie River not far from the Fort.

Although the Government entered into a treaty in 1851 with some 6,000 Arapahoes, Cheyenne and Ogalalla Brule Sioux in which the Indians were to receive annuities to be paid in goods, it did not insure peace for very long. Gradually the Indian depredations increased until in 1856, the government sent more troops to the Fort, making it a great depot for emigrants and the center of most important military operations. The Post remained under government control until 1890.

With the garrisoning of Fort Laramie in 1849, the government appointed John Tutt as the first sutler and he held this position until 1857. Tutt, who was in partnership with Dougherty, sold out to Seth E. Ward on May 4, 1857 for the sum of \$3,000. Ward received his appointment at Fort Laramie, Nebraska

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1. According to the records of the Adjutant General's office in Washington, D. C., Fort Laramie was first occupied as a military post on June 16, 1849.

Territory, from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War in 1857<sup>1</sup> and received subsequent appointments, holding the place until 1871.

Seth E. Ward, who was born in Virginia, came to the mountain country when a young man. In about 1845 he met Robert Campbell in St. Louis and they formed a friendship which was lifelong. Campbell helped finance Ward and established him as an independent trader at Bent's Fork on the Arkansas. Later Ward went into partnership with William Guerrier<sup>2</sup> and the two of them set up a trading post and store nine miles above Fort Laramie on the south side of the North Platte River. Hence, Ward was well-acquainted in that district when he was made sutler at Fort Laramie.

In Ward's firm the first year at Fort Laramie was a man named Fitzhugh, who retired in 1858 and was succeeded by William G. Bullock. Bullock, who was living in St. Louis when hired by Mr. Ward, immediately took up his residence at Fort Laramie and served very ably as agent and general manager of Mr. Ward's large interests at the Fort from 1858 to 1871. Soon after Mr. Bullock went to Fort Laramie his wife joined him. Before her marriage, Mrs. Bullock was Mary Eliza Washington, a great-great-great niece of President George Washington. She was born in Kentucky. Little is known at present of her immediate family except that she often spoke, while living at Fort Laramie, of a brother "Frank", who resided in Wisconsin.

The Bullocks had two children, a son and a daughter, the latter died in childhood. The son, Captain John Washington Bullock, was Captain of Company D, 5th Virginia Cavalry and was killed in 1863 in an engagement at Dumfries just out of Washington.

Mrs. Bullock was an ardent and excellent horsewoman and rode a great deal with her husband, during the first years of her life at the Fort. A small stirrup from her sidesaddle is among the treasured possessions of the Wyoming Historical Department.

Two years after Mr. Bullock took resident charge of the sutler's store at Fort Laramie, his employer, Seth Ward married. In 1863, Mr. Ward moved his family to Nebraska City and from there to Westport in 1872, then to Kansas City. His original homestead there was later in the heart of an exclusive residential and country club district.

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1. The original copy of the appointment is in the Wyoming Historical Department at Cheyenne. See Special Order No. 140. Dept. of Platte.

2. William Guerrier was killed on February 16, 1858, at the age of 52 years, when a keg of powder which he was hauling on his wagon, exploded. According to the inscription on his tombstone: "He was long known as a successful Indian trader and universally loved and esteemed by all who knew him." The stone is in the Burlington depot yard at Torrington.

For many years Seth Ward did a flourishing business at Fort Laramie under the management of Mr. Bullock. They shipped thousands of bales of furs and robes which they obtained through trade with the Indians; they freighted tons upon tons of freight into the West; they served efficiently as supply officer and banker for the whole surrounding territory.

The precious old letter-file journal, kept by means of the French ink copying process, has never before been made public. It contains the copies of letters written by Colonel W. G. Bullock and one or two by Seth Ward during the years 1868-1870. Through these letters one catches vivid glimpses of the conditions at Fort Laramie and the surrounding country during the strenuous time when the government was struggling to make permanent peace with the Sioux Indians.

Though the letters deal for the most part with business there is woven through them a bitterness at the trend of affairs and rebellion at the fate which was slowly and surely overtaking the trading business at Fort Laramie.

Mr. Bullock even predicted the entire abandonment of the Fort. He was irked and disheartened at what he considered the incompetency of the Indian Peace Commission and the military who he thought failed to understand the Indians.

This feeling, however, was common in many places at that time as can be noted by consulting the newspaper articles in the Denver and Cheyenne papers at that date, in which there appeared severe criticisms regarding the movements of the army and sarcastic reference to the peace policy of the government.

Too, perhaps Colonel Bullock's resentment at the way the military managed affairs dated back to previous personal incidents. Naturally the Colonel was eager to have peace preserved in the western country so that trade with the Indians could be maintained and he was much perturbed in May 1865, over the capture of Two Face and Black Foot, Sioux Chiefs of the Ogallala tribe, who had bought Mrs. Eubanks, a captured white woman from the Cheyennes. When Colonel Bullock heard that Colonel Moonlight, then commanding Fort Laramie, had ordered these Indians hung he went to the commanding officer and told him that in his judgment the execution of these two chiefs would not serve any good purpose "but on the contrary he believed that it would so aggravate the combined hostile tribes as to induce them to seek a favorable opportunity and then in overwhelming numbers attack the garrison of Fort Laramie and carry the place by assault, and then would follow a massacre of so barbarous and inhuman a character as had never been witnessed in the west. The commander heard Colonel Bullock with great courtesy, never once interrupting him in his plea, not for mercy for the savages but for



the adoption of a policy which would serve better the purpose of the government in its war against the Indians. When the plea was finished the post commander very quietly remarked: 'Well, Colonel Bullock, you think there will be a massacre? Let me tell you that there will be two Indians who will not take part in it. Good day, sir.' The Post Commander followed his dismissal of the post trader by politely bowing him out of the door of his quarters."<sup>1</sup>

Too, it was Colonel Bullock who wrote a vivid account<sup>2</sup> of the Platte Bridge Fight to Colonel William O. Collins when his son, Lieutenant Caspar Collins, was killed by the Indians on July 26, 1865. In this account Bullock blamed the Kansas officers for the young lieutenant's death.

The following winter two men came to Fort Laramie with \$7,000 in coarse gold in baking powder cans and asked Charley Clay, clerk in the Post Trader's store, to put it in the safe for them. According to their story seven of them had been working in the Black Hills country and had just made a rich strike when they were attacked by Indians and five of them were killed. The two had escaped, they said, and had made their way to Fort Reno. There the commanding officer discredited their tale and had them arrested for army deserters. They were taken from there to Fort Fetterman and at last released. They spent the winter at Fort Laramie and left early in the spring of 1866 to go back in search of their mine. The ten or twelve persons in their party were evidently all killed as they were never heard from again.

Without knowledge of the fate of this Black Hills party, Colonel Bullock, fired with enthusiasm at the sight of the \$7,000 in gold dust which had reposed in the sutler's safe all winter—organized a large expedition to find the Lost Cabin claims. He had 150 men enlisted and ready to start on the expedition when an order came from the commanding officer of the department forbidding the expedition and ordering out the military forces, if necessary, to prevent it, as the "Indians were then hostile and an extensive Indian war was feared." To this day the location of the lost claims remains a mystery.

In the Bullock letters, which deal for the most part with the transmittal of money to various parts of the country and the payment of promissory notes, orders or acknowledgments of same, there are references to politics, to the handling of military discharges, also details of various local happenings.

There are vouchers in favor of the runners who were sent out to bring the Indians in to the Peace Commission, there are orders relative to Green River knives, a special kind of knives

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1. Coutant: History of Wyoming. Vol. I, pp. 441-2.

2. See Letter, page 319.

demanding by the Indians for trading purposes; there are orders also for hair pipe used in ceremonials; for garden tools and seeds for Fort Fetterman; for fancy preserve dishes and a tea tray for a "small family"; for Italian cravats and a fine white Jaconet; for fancy garter lacings; for seines for fishing; for mosquito netting; for "a handsome ladies horsewhip"; reference is made to hoopskirts and to the purchase of coal oil, which had been prohibited by the government due to the fact that someone had patented a lard lamp. There are orders for magazines such as the *North American Review* and for the *Omaha Herald*; for percussion caps and powder; for scarlet and blue Indian cloth, brooms, macaroni, French ink and writing paper.

Among the names to whom the letters are addressed we find: Robert Campbell & Co., St. Louis; M. Tootle & Co., Omaha; J. A. Ware & Co., Omaha and Cheyenne; S. A. Megeath & Co., Council Bluffs; Stephens & Wilcox, Omaha; Posey S. Wilson, Cheyenne; Gallagher & Megeath, Cheyenne; Curry, Kirby & Cooper, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Under the Act of July 29, 1867 a Peace Commission was created with full powers, not only to treat with the Indians, but to settle existing differences without loss of time. This Commission consisting of Lieutenant General W. T. Sherman, N. G. Taylor, J. B. Henderson, Brevet Major General Harney, General John B. Sanborn, Brevet Major General Alfred H. Terry, Brevet Major General C. C. Augur and S. F. Tappan, arrived at Fort Laramie on April 7, 1868.

The first letters in Bullock's file are dated April 16, 1868. In a letter to Messrs. Robert Campbell & Co., he says: "The Indian Commissioners arrived here a few days since to treat with the Indians but they found no Indians to treat with, and have determined to remain until the arrival of Red Cloud & Co. I would like to live until he comes in of his own free will . . . . There are many Indians expected in with a large number of robes and I hope to get my share of them, which will be the lions."

Later he wrote: "Things are working very unsatisfactory here for our business which may result in our leaving here. The Indian Commission are endeavoring to take all the whites and Indians out of this country preparing I presume to abandon the post . . . . From the operation of the Peace Commission I fear we will not have any Indian trade in the future as all Indians, half-breeds and white men of the country are to go over to the Missouri River near old 'Fort Pierre' where a reservation is to be established and no Indians are allowed to come here. The Indians are kicking against this proposition and it will doubtless lead to a renewal of hostilities."

In July 1868 he wrote: "The Indian Treaty made here will prove a failure as a short time since the Indians were fired



SUTLER'S STORE AT FORT LARAMIE—1937

upon at Fort Phil Kearney by order of the Commanding Officer when they were peaceably approaching."

Although the Indians had promised to come in to the peace conference at Fort Laramie they took their own time in coming. Some did come in during the three months while the Commissioners waited at the Fort and after the usual smoke and council talk, they signed the treaty and received a supply of provisions, clothing, blankets, firearms and ammunition.

It was not, however, until November 6, 1868, that Red Cloud and Thunder Man visited Fort Laramie and signed the treaty.

Colonel Bullock was fair-minded and after the peace was made wrote that he thought that: "General Sanborn has succeeded in making a good peace with the Sioux Indians and the Bands of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, who live in the Sioux Country and the country will not in future be shocked by more horrid massacres by Indians."

This treaty did not though result in the hoped for peace as some 600 warriors had withdrawn from Red Cloud's camp when they learned he was going to sign the treaty and these and others continued their depredations.

Events soon proved that the abandonment of the Bozeman Road through the removal of troops from Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith was a mistake and General Sheridan, who then commanded the Department of the Missouri, in his official report, dated Sept. 26, 1868, pointed out clearly the mistakes of the year. In this report we see the military's view of the stand which many of the agents were taking.

"The motives of the peace commissioners were humane, but there was an error of judgment in making peace with the Indians last fall. They should have been punished and made to give up the plunder captured, and which they now hold; and after properly submitting to the military and disgorging their plunder, they could have been turned over to the civil agents. This error has given more victims to savage ferocity. The present system of dealing with Indians, I think, is an error. There are too many fingers in the pie, too many ends to be subserved, and too much money to be made; and it is the interest of the nation, and of humanity, to put an end to this inhuman farce. The Peace Commission, the Indian Department, the military and the Indian, make a balky team. The public treasury is depleted and innocent people plundered in this quad angular arrangement, in which the treasury and the unarmed settlers are the greatest sufferers. . . . I desire to say with all emphasis, what every officer of the frontier will corroborate, that there is no class of men in this country who are so disinclined to war with the Indians as the army stationed among them. The army has nothing to gain by a war with the



Indians; on the contrary, it has everything to lose. In such a war it suffers all the hardships and privation, exposed as it is to the charge of assassination if Indians are killed, to the charge of inefficiency if they are not; to misrepresentation by the agents who fatten on the plunder of Indians, and misunderstood by worthy people at a distance who are deceived by these very agents."

A severe blow was struck at the sutler's business at Fort Laramie when the military issued an order forbidding trade with the Indians at that post and commanding them to trade only at Fort Randall.

On November 19, 1868 according to a letter to Messrs. Robert Campbell & Company, Bullock said: "I have today received the following copy of Order to Col. Dye from the Department Commanders, presuming it from Genl. Sherman:

"H'qr. Dept. Platte, Nov. 4, 1868. Should Red Cloud or any other Indians come to your Post or vicinity you will not permit any person to trade with them. You must not exchange or trade their furs. Give them sufficient provisions to last them to Genl. Harney, reporting transaction here. Let the Indians understand distinctly that they cannot trade with anyone off 'their reservation' Signed 'C. C. Augur, Commd. Dpt.' This order is directly contrary to what has been told the Indians both by the Indian Peace Commission and the different Post Commanders who have been acting under their instruction, and they induced the Indians to sign the treaty by their representations. These wild Indians were plainly and repeatedly told that they need not go on the reservation or anything unless they wanted to go but that no presents would be issued to them except on the reservation by General Harney but they could come and hunt and trade at Fort Laramie. But I presume peace is not wanted by the authorities."

Again, he wrote Campbell that John Richards, Jr., had been allowed by General Sherman to trade with the Indians on the North side of the Platte,—Crows, Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes, but "he has not been able to cross the River as the Indians object to having any trader but myself. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes who have about two hundred packs of robes (and very superior ones) sent word that they would not trade their robes to anybody but me, and I must get goods for them. Colonel Dye would give me permission, but his orders forbid his doing so."

As the Indian troubles increased Colonel Bullock spoke of various raids on stock and on Dec. 3, 1869 he wrote: "The Indians are growing more bold and it is becoming dangerous to put our heads beyond the Sentinels of the Post. The Mail party to Fort Fetterman was driven back yesterday after a running fight with the loss of one man and another wounded, shot

through the thigh with an arrow. And few days since a white citizen was killed a short distance from the Post. I am expecting daily to hear that all of our stock is run off by the Indians . . . . Our business is not good and if the military commanders by their orders can make it worse they certainly will exercise their ingenuity to do so."

Reference to "all our stock" being run off by the Indians is evidently to the stock which Bullock and Mills owned. Evidently seeing the handwriting on the wall and feeling sure that the trading business had passed its zenith, Bullock began to prepare for the future and purchased a herd of cattle in partnership with Benjamin B. Mills<sup>1</sup> who had been a trader and a clerk in the sutler's store. The partnership was known as Bullock and Mills. This was the first and only range stock in the country at that time.<sup>2</sup>

In the summer of 1868, Mills went to Kansas, Iowa and Missouri, and purchased 250 cows and one or two bulls, which he drove to Fort Laramie, arriving there in October. According to John Hunton:" He turned them loose on the Laramie River about six miles west of the Fort, and had good success with them during the winter and spring. Early in the summer of 1869, the Sioux Indians raided his herd and drove off some thirty head or more, none of which was ever recovered, as no white man was allowed to cross the North Platte at that time for any purpose. About October 1869 the Indians made another raid on the herd and drove off sixty odd head, consisting of cows and calves. On this raid the Indians dangerously wounded the herder, Michell Miguel, a Mexican. In March, 1870, the Indians again raided the herd and drove off some 25 or 30 head, which reduced the herd to about 120 of the original stock, but there had been a fairly good increase. Soon after the last raid, Mr. Mills moved the herd from the Laramie River to Chugwater Creek, and located it four miles south of Bordeaux, at the junction of Richard Creek,<sup>3</sup> where he established a camp with 3 herders in tents. During the month of June 1870, the Indians raided this camp and drove the herders, John Boyd and William Aug, off and then killed four milk cows and young calves, pillaged the camp and burned everything they could find about the camp. Mills then moved the camp to the immediate vicinity of the Hunton ranch at Bordeaux."<sup>4</sup>

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1. In 1858 B. B. Mills was commissioned by the Indian Agent as a trader under Seth Ward.

2. Hi Kelly: "In the fall of 1870 came my first experience in the range cattle business . . . . The only range stuff in the country at that time was that of Bullock & Mills, later Bullock & Hunton who had a small bunch of cows below the mouth of Richard's known as S O Ranch."

3. Also called Richeau Creek.

4. Wyoming Historical Department Archives.

According to a report made by Silas Reed, Surveyor General of the Territory of Wyoming on September 12, 1871, W. G. Bullock was listed as having 4,000 cattle on Horse Creek.

In 1871 Benjamin Mills died and John Hunton then bought his half interest in the herd. This was the first herd of stock cattle located on Chugwater Creek. Although the firm was known as Bullock and Hunton, Hunton took entire charge of the herd and he adopted the brand SO for the stock cattle and the brand LD for the work cattle, making both brands easy to vent when an animal was sold. The SO herd was kept at Bordeaux until the fall of 1876 and the spring of 1877, when it was moved to Box Elder Creek southwest of Ft. Fetterman, which is now the location of the very celebrated ranch, Careyhurst,<sup>1</sup> formerly owned by the late Senator Robert D. Carey. The SO brand is still used by the Carey family.

In the spring of 1871 Colonel W. G. Bullock put up a house, stable, corral and small shop on Laramie River near the present site of Uva, and put a few head of cattle and horses there, but the Indians were so annoying he moved all his stock to Bordeaux in the spring of 1872. As there were no other ranches or cattle on the Laramie River at that time, the hay on Bullock's ranch was cut and hauled to Bordeaux for two years and for four years was sold at Fort Laramie. The buildings at the Bullock ranch were covered with three inch plank that had been used for flooring in the wagon bridge constructed across the Laramie at the Fort in 1853. The planks were laid on the stringers or joists and then covered with earth. All the buildings have been torn down and moved away except the main log building which is in fairly good condition and is only kept as a relic of the early days. It shows some of the lumber made by the first sawmill located at Fort Laramie more than eighty years ago,—the plank supporting the earth roof.

After Seth Ward was displaced as sutler at Fort Laramie in 1871, Mr. and Mrs. Bullock disposed of their furniture and much of their personal belongings and moved the small remainder to the house of John Hunton at Bordeaux.

Bullock continued to be interested in the cattle business but turned the active management of it over to Hunton, while he and Mrs. Bullock took up their residence at the Railroad House in Cheyenne, which was then the best hotel in the region. They lived there until the death of Mrs. Bullock which occurred on Aug. 8, 1879. Her remains were taken to Bedford County, Virginia, and laid to rest beside those of her two children.

An incident concerning W. G. Bullock and "Jim" Hunton as told by Hunton follows: "In February 1874, Col. Bullock and 'Jim' Hunton left Bordeaux to go to Fort Fetterman. They

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1. Now owned by W. E. Bixby of Kansas City, Mo.

drove a pair of mules to a spring wagon. There was no one living on the road between Bordeaux and Fetterman at that time. John Hunton had constructed a small two room log house on Horse Shoe Creek at the Fetterman road crossing the winter before, but it was not occupied at this time. It had no fireplace or stove. Bullock and Jim got to this house about sunset; watered the mules and put them in one room of the house; made a small fire in front of the other door; and made coffee and ate their supper by the light of the fire. They then spread buffalo robes on the ground in the room and were ready for bed. Both were tired, but stood and sat a while by the fire. The mules seemed to get uneasy and would jump and stamp as if something was wrong. Mr. Bullock suggested that they had better put the fire out and lie down. Jim had just finished extinguishing the fire and started for the door when they heard an Indian yelling to another one something about the water in the creek. Neither of them spoke Sioux, but Mr. Bullock understood a few words and knew when they spoke of water or creek. The two men went into the house and spent an uneasy night, making their escape early in the morning to Fetterman. There they found a telegram from Fort Laramie saying that there was little doubt but that Bullock and Hunton had been killed by Indians the night before, as the Indians had been raiding." (Jim Hunton was killed two years later by Indians in Goshen Hole.)

After Mrs. Bullock's death, Mr. Bullock made his home much of the time at Bordeaux<sup>1</sup> where he later married a Sioux woman. A half-breed son of the couple, is said to have been a splendid horseman and rode with Buffalo Bill's show for a year.

According to Mr. Hunton, Colonel Bullock left Wyoming the last time on September 29, 1885, in company with Mrs. John Hunton and her father, Dr. John W. Taylor, going to New York by train, thence to Richmond, Virginia, on a steamboat.

Colonel William Galt Bullock, son of John Bullock and Lucy Novell Bullock, died in Virginia on Jan. 22, 1896, and is buried in the family lot at St. Stephens Church, Bedford County, Virginia.

J. S. McCormick succeeded Seth Ward as Post Trader at Fort Laramie, with E. B. Tayloy as his clerk. He was followed by Gilbert Collins who remained four years; then his brother, J. S. Collins, served as sutler until 1881. John London next occupied the position for seven years, then in 1888 John Hunton, who had spent so many years in the vicinity of the Fort, took

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1. According to the records of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1873 to 1880, brand 16 left hip was of record to W. G. Bullock. The brand book of 1881 shows this same brand of record to John Hunton of Bordeaux and Cheyenne. (The book of 1880 shows this brand of record to W. G. Bullock.) In 1882 this brand is shown of record to Bullock and Hunton, Bordeaux, Wyo., range Chugwater Creek.



over the trading post and ran it until April 20, 1890, when the United States troops left this noted Fort. Hunton purchased the site from the government and lived there many years, selling it in 1919.

Through the years of wind and weather there still remain at old Fort Laramie: the old post trader's store, frequented by Jim Bridger and other famous scouts and noted army officers; the guard house, which held not only military prisoners, but also stage robbers and notorious desperadoes; "Old Bedlam", officers' club and quarters; the ruins of the old hospital which still overlooks the entire fort and is the most far-seen of all the fort buildings; the old cavalry barracks now used as headquarters for the National Park Service Custodian; the old Hunton residence; remnants of barracks; the bridge over the Platte river, built by the U. S. Government and afterwards given to Laramie County and the Goshen County.

The Twenty-First Wyoming State Legislature made an appropriation of \$15,000 for the purchase of old Fort Laramie in order that it might be preserved as an historic shrine. The purchase was made, and in 1938 the State transferred the title to old Fort Laramie to the National Park Service. It is now a National Monument.

## Part II

### LETTERS OF W. G. BULLOCK\* AND S. E. WARD

Fort Laramie, April 16th, 1868

Messrs. M. Tootle & Co.

Omaha  
Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail which arrived yesterday of receiving your letter of 7th inst. with enclosed invoice, for which please find S.E. Ward's check on Messrs. J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for five hundred twenty four 40 /100 Dollars. Please

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\*NOTE—The old letter-book containing the accompanying correspondence of Bullock and Ward was in the possession of the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, of the University of Wyoming, who, in 1935, granted to Agnes Wright Spring the privilege of making a transcript for such use as she might see fit.

An interesting old relic in itself, the file is in the form of a bound volume, an inch in thickness and is inscribed in gilt, "Letter Book." Its white pages are of almost tissue thinness and texture upon which imprints of the original letters, hand-written, were made by the old French ink method of keeping a correspondence record. The file was transcribed verbatim by Mrs. Spring. Its ownership passed to the Wyoming State University with Dr. Hebard's death in 1936, and is now in the Hebard Collection at the University Library.

A typewritten label on the front cover gives the following information: "Presented by Mrs. Lee Root to Grace Raymond Hebard, July, 1930. (From Torrington)" —Ed.

send me at your early convenience 3000 16 stran cotton twine with bill I want the twine for making a seine.

Mark S E Ward care Megeath & Co. Cheyenne and ship to him. Please accept my thanks for your prompt attention.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Obt Svt.

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie April 16th 1868

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.

St. Louis

Gentlemen

I had not the pleasure of receiving any of your esteemed favours by the last mail. The Indian Commissioners arrived here a few days since, to treat with the Indians but they found no Indians to treat with, and have determined to remain untill the arrival of Red Cloud & co. I would like to live until he comes in of his own free will. There are many Indians expected in with a large number of robes and I hope to get my share of them, which will be the Lions.

Will you please make the following remittance and charge to Mr. Ward's account

To Mrs. Carroll H Potter No 11 Boylston Place

Boston Mass.

\$100 from Col. C.H. Potter

To Benjamin Schell 10th and Vine St

Philadelphia Pa from Dr. H.S. Schell \$500

Will you please get M. McQuaig to make a Seine 60 feet long and 6 feet wide in the center of the size of the twine sent and ship to the care of Megeath & Co Cheyenne. Care J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha.

Yours truly in haste

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Fort Laramie April 16th 1868

Messrs. J.A. Ware & Co.,

Omaha

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your esteemed favour of the 8 inst. with package of Boys clothes .

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks,

No. 7 Fort Fetterman Mar 31 /68 on 1st Nat. Bk Omaha in fav  
 John Finn Fred F. Whitehead 1st leut. 18 infy for \$2,000  
 39. Ft. C.F. Smith Jany 24 on Dr 1st Nat. Bank " in fav  
 P.B. Gayhard Walter F. Halleck 1 Lt. 27 inf. \$74.56  
 " " 24th Thomas Walton  
 Walter F Halleck 58.28

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Two thousand one hundred and thirty two  
 84 /00 dolls \$2,132.84

Very Respectfully  
 Your Obt. Svt.  
 W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co., Ft. Laramie April 16th 1868  
 Cheyenne  
 Gentlemen

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit John Finns  
 draft on Messrs Kountze & co. Cheyenne in favor of B.B. Mills  
 for (Four thousand four hundred and eleven dos. \$4411.00.  
 You will perceive the draft is dated on the 20 proximo. Mr.  
 Finn will leave here in the morning and he wishes to reach  
 Cheyenne before the draft is presented. I suppose he will reach  
 Cheyenne Saturday or Sunday.

Very Respectfully,  
 Your Obt. Svt.  
 W G BULLOCK

P.S. Please send me bill of the cotton cloth and  
 Plaister Paris you purchased for me.

\* \* \* \*

Messrs. J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie April 22 /68  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Your favour of the 15th Inst came duly to hand with the  
 book but you omitted to put the price of the Book. I have re-  
 ceived the Butcher Knives. They are unsuitable for the purposes  
 I wanted them for (Indian Trade) The Indians only trade the  
 Ebony handle Ames or Green River knives.<sup>1</sup> Please find enclosed

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1. Green River Knives. Green River Knives were first manufactured by  
 John Russell, who founded the Green River works, near Greenfield, Massa-  
 chusetts in 1835. He also was one of our first American cutlers to produce  
 knives in wholesale quantities. The knives were stamped, "J. Russell & Company,  
 Green River Works," and later changed to "John Russell Mfg. Co." In 1873  
 it was reorganized and the name changed to the present one, "John Russell  
 Cutlery Co." Apparently the Green River knife was a favorite with mountain  
 men and Indians, and one time Mr. John W. Russell, a descendant of the  
 original manufacturer stated, "I remember hearing it said that one shipment

for Mr. Wards credit the following checks list of which please find on next page

Yours truly  
WG BULLOCK

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| No. 68 Ft. Phil Kearney Jany 27 /68 infav John Andersonon |         |
| Omaha Nat. Bk. signed C.H. Wasens Lieut 27                |         |
| Infy AA QM  | \$25.33 |
| 31 Apl. 22 /68 William Rush E.B.                          |         |
| Grimes Q M  | 30.00   |
| 67 Ft. Fetterman Oct. 31 /67 1st Nat Bk                   |         |
| Omaha in fav Arthur Juliett by Thos                       |         |
| F. Quinn  | 35.35   |
|   | \$90.65 |

If you can procure it will you please send me three or four Bottles French Copying ink have it well packed send to care your house Cheyenne

Yours  
W.G. BULLOCK.

\* \* \* \*

Messrs S A Megeath & C<sup>1</sup>  
Council Bluffs  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie May 13, 1868

Your fav of the 6th inst with Bill for blankets came to hand by the last mail which arrived yesterday and please find enclosed S E Ward check No. 2 on Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for the amount Three hundred and three 50 /100 dollars.

Very respectfully  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W G BULLOCK

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of hunter's knives, some 60 or 70 cast, that went to the old Indian trader, Pierre Chateau, contained more knives than there could be inhabitants, red or white, in the Northwest." I have seen and handled a number of these knives and almost invariably, Indian owners beveled the blade on a cutting edge, in order that it might make a good skinning knife. I became interested in these knives a number of years ago and in the October 1927 issue of Indian Notes published by the Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation, appeared a brief article by myself entitled, "Those Green River Knives."—Arthur Woodward, National Park Service, Berkeley, California.

1. In 1868 Gallagher & Megeath also did business at Bryan, Wyo., a "temporary" terminus of the U.P.R.R.



Messrs M. Tootle & C  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie May 13th, 1868

I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour of 29th ulto with enclosed bill of blankets Please find S E Wards check on Messrs J.A. Ware & co., Omaha for the Amount One hundred and eighty nine 25 /100 Dollars.  
Please acknowledge receipt

Yours Respectfully  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Col M T Patrick  
North Platte City  
Neb

Fort Laramie May 13, 1868

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find an order on you of Leo Pallady<sup>1</sup> for one hundred and fifty dollars which please remit a check to Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for the amount Genl. Sanborn informed me you would pay this as you were furnished with funds to pay.

The Indian question progresses slowly here but "The Man afraid of his horses" is expected in here during the week and I suppose everything will be settled.

Yours truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co  
Cheyenne  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie May 13 1868

I received your amount by the last mail but without any letter. Please find for collection and S E Wards Credit:

John Finn on Kountz & Co. Cheyenne for \$5,940.26 /00

I enclose Lt. Brents check on 1st Nat Bank Omaha for five dollars for which please send me the amount in Revenue

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1. In a letter written by Colonel W. O. Collins in 1862, and quoted in Spring's *Caspar Collins*, he said: "I have employed an excellent interpreter whom I intend to keep permanently if the Government will pay him. His name is Leo Pallardy, a Frenchman, or rather of French parentage, born in St. Louis, raised in St. Charles, Missouri, and for the last seventeen years a resident among the Indians and agent and trader. He was interpreter for General Harney and also for the Sioux chiefs at Washington City on a visit to the President a few years ago. He is about 32, a very good scholar, a capital hunter (he brought in an antelope yesterday) and thoroughly acquainted with the country and the Indians from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri. His dress is a black buckskin hunting coat, highly ornamented, and light buckskin pantaloons with moccasins. He occupies the tent with Caspar and myself and makes himself generally useful in packing, unpacking, loading, etc."

Stamps as follows \$1 in 50c \$2 in 25c \$2 in 10c stamps they are for Lt. Brent

This check for stamps I have not charged to your account therefore do not charge me with stamps; Did you send over an express package for Col. Dye<sup>1</sup> by last mail if so what was the charges. Mr. Ward will go over tomorrow I presume

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK.

\* \* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co

Fort Laramie May 13, 1868

Omaha

Gentlemen

Please find for collection and Mr. Wards credit the following checks and a note of John Finn. Sixty days after date payable at 1st Nat Bank Omaha No. 2665 Cert Dep Omaha Nat Bk. Feby 20 /68 infav Capt Wm P. McCleery A.M. Wyman Asst. Cash signed John A Schmidt Teller \$306.00

|  |   |                                   |            |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 8  | Phil Kearney Apl. 14 /68 on 1st Nat Bk infav                                | W C O'Boyle C H Wasens            | 107.50     |
| 53   | Fort Fetterman 20 "   | do Douglas Reid<br>Thos L. Brent  | 200.00     |
| 33   | Fort Laramie May 12   | do Lieut. W.W. Bill<br>E B Grimes | 420.00     |
| 32   | " " do Apl. 30  | do W G Bullock<br>E B Grimes      | 1,500.00   |
| 27   | " C.F. Smith Dec. 31, 1867  | do Henry Korn<br>W F Halleck      | 56.15      |
| 62   | C.F. Smith Feb. 1, 1868   | do Feather in the<br>Neck do      | 30.00      |
| 33   | do Jny 24 "   | do Aaron Levy do                  | 251.18     |
|  | John Finn's note 60 /ds date infav S E Ward at<br>1st Nat Bk                |                                   | 6,300.00   |
| 193  | Omaha Apl. 23d /68 A Wright Post Chap.<br>Omaha Nat. Bk R D Clark Paymaster |                                   | 38.93      |
| Nine thousand two hundred and Eight 76 /00 Dollars |   |                                   | \$9,208.76 |

Yours Respectfully

Your Obt Svt

W G BULLOCK.

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1. Col. William McEntire Dye.

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co      Fort Laramie May 13th 1868  
 St Louis  
 Gentlemen

Your two favrs to Mr. Ward came duly to hand. Mr. Ward speaks of leaving in the morning for Cheyenne where he will remain some days on business. The Indian question still drags. Genl. Sherman has arrived here and left for New Mexico, leaving Genls Harney and Sanborn here to finish up the business of *peace*. Please find for collection for Mr. Wards Credit.

|       |  |                               |          |
|-------|--|-------------------------------|----------|
| 6     | John B. Sanborn <sup>1</sup>           | Ft. Laramie May 4th /68 infav |          |
|       |  | Thil Bodernyeron              | \$60.00  |
|       | Asst Mg. New York                      |                               |          |
| 5     | "                                      | " 4th / "Herman Ries do       | 64.00    |
| 3     | "                                      | " " William Smith do          | 60.00    |
| 7     | "                                      | " 7 / " Joseph B. Mayo do     | 64.00    |
| 22    | "                                      | " 11 / " Jchn B. Sanborn do   | 250.00   |
| 180   | Genl B. Alverto                        | Mar 26 /68 Musician William   |          |
|       |  | A. Stanton on N.Y.            | 10.00    |
| 2675  | Phil F. Kelly &c.                      | Phila Apl. 21 /68 in fav      |          |
|       | Chambers McKebben                      | Endorsed R.P. McKeben on      |          |
|       | Jay Cook I Co. N.Y.                    | Asst Try U.S.                 | 300.00   |
| 11327 | Washington Feb. 8 /68 on Asst Try N.Y. | in fav                        |          |
|       |  | John Piro L R Tuttle          | 10.00    |
|       | Eight hundred and fourteen Dollars     |                               | \$814.00 |

Please remit to Mr. William Rowson Sacket Harbor New York  
 from Capt. Geo. W. Dost (\$20) Twenty Dollars  
 and to Mrs. Capt. George W. Dost (\$10) Ten Dollars  
 Sacket Harbor New York from Capt. G.W. Dost

Things are working very unsatisfactory here for our business which perhaps may result in our leaving here the Indian Commission are endeavouring to take all the whites and Indians out of this country preparatory I presume to *abandoning* the post.

Yours truly

WG BULLOCK

---

1. A member of the Peace Commission.

Collins Dixon Esq

Fort Laramie D.T. May 13, 1868

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 25th ult. is at hand and I now enclose you the statement desired and will sell upon the following terms viz.

For goods on hand I will take the original cost with transportation at the rate of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cents per lb. and 10 per cent upon the original cost added. cash in hand upon delivery and comparison of Invoice. For corn of which I have about 3000 bushels, I will take in cashe the selling price at Cheyenne City D.T. with the cost of transportation from that point to this added. For the mules 136 one hundred and thirty six head, I will take four hundred Dollars per span and take note at (60) Sixty and (120) one hundred and twenty days with satisfactory security. For the mule wagons twenty in number and Harness, I will take one hundred and fifty dolls each upon the same terms as for the mules. For the work oxen and ox wagons, consisting of (130) one hundred and thirty yoke of oxen and twenty six ox wagons. I will take one thousand and twenty Dolls per team of five yoke of oxen and one wagon upon the same terms viz note at sixty and at one hundred and twenty days with satisfactory endorsers. For the buildings consisting of a comfortable dwelling house with four rooms, a kitchen and a storeroom and other conveniences and of a store with two warehouses and a sitting room and sleeping room for the clerks, I will take \$8000.00 Eight thousand Dolls accepting note at one year with satisfactory endorsers. The outside property consisting of mowing machines and Hay Press &c. I will sell at a fair valuation and accept note at one year with good security. I am now selling my mules and cattle and wagons as rapidly as I can but would of course prefer to close out my whole business in one lot to one purchaser. I also have here a billiard Room and two tables which we could make I think a satisfactory arrangement about.

I leave here in the morning for Cheyenne City D.T. Please direct your answer to the care of J.A.Ware & Co. Bankers, Cheyenne. Hoping to hear from you soon

I remain

Yours Truly

S E WARD

\* \* \* \*

William Micheal Esq  
Kankakee, Ill.

Fort Laramie May 21st 1868

Dear Sir

I received your letter with enclosed receipt for discharge and agreeable to your request I herewith enclose you your discharge which I hope will reach you safely.

Yours Respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK



Messrs. M. Tootle &amp; Co

Fort Laramie May 21st, 1868

Omaha

Gentlemen

Please find enclosed S E Wards check No. 11 on Messrs J.A. Ware & Co, Omaha for the amt of your bill for cotton seine twine Seventeen 50 /00 Dollars

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt

WG BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Messrs. Robert Campbell &amp;C., Fort Laramie May 21,1868

St. Louis

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your letter of the 11th Inst. with stated Enclosures. The Hair Pipe<sup>1</sup> ordered some time since we will not want as it will arrive too late for any trade with the Indians, and the trade for the present will be more limited than I anticipated and from the operations of the Peace Commission I fear we will not have any Indian trade in future as all Indians half breed and whitemen of the country are to go over to the Missouri River near old "Fort Pierre" where a reservation for the Sioux is to be established and no Indians are to be allowed to come here. The Indians are kicking against this proposition and it will doubtless lead to a renewal of hostility.

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1. "The Hair Pipe was an ornament which was in great demand on the plains. from the early decade of the 19th Century until recently. The name "hair pipe" was one which travelled from the frontier trading posts east of the Mississippi, into the plains region.

During the 18th century, the Shawnee, Kickapoo, Illinois, Miami, Ottawa, etc., used thin tubes of silver which they obtained from the traders in which they confined individual locks of hair. These were known as hair pipes. The plains hair pipe was not of silver, however, but of shell. These shell pipes or "hair pipes" as they were termed in the trade, were made in great quantities at this time by the Campbell Brothers, Wampum factory in Pascack, Bergen County, New Jersey. These were made from the interior portion of the Bahama Conch shells. They were made up to 6" in length and such 6" pipes were sold for 48 cents apiece.

Shortly before 1850 the Campbell Bros. in New Jersey invented a machine whereby they were able to drill six pipes at a time. This factory supplied the bulk of such ornaments to the various trading concerns, operating west of the Mississippi River. This same outfit also supplied traders with the round curved shell disks, so popular with the plains Indians. In later days, toward the end of the 60s, I would judge, the Indians began making breast plates of these pipes. Later, as the supply of shell beads dwindled, imitation pipes of bone were imported to the plains and today one sees these bone pipe beads on some of the costumes of 35 or 40 years ago and modern Indian costumes often include these breast plates. Incidentally, the Robert Campbell Company was listed as a buyer of the hair pipes from the Campbell Brothers in New Jersey."—Prof. Arthur Woodward, National Park Service, Berkeley, California.

ities. I herewith enclose you the letters of N.G. Taylor Com of Ind. Affairs and E.B. French 2d Auditor.

In relation to an account of Mr. Wards in which \$300 cash advanced H.M. Mathews Special Agent for the Crows, has been suspended by Mr. French. I also enclose the receipts in duplicate of H.M. Mathews for Mr. French who will allow the suspended three hundred dollars to be paid on the receipt of these receipts. The original amount was for \$1936 55 /00 which audited by the Indian Department and three cash items suspended when sent to the auditor for the want of the receipts of H.M. Mathews which are the receipts enclosed for the auditor. Will you please make the following remittances and charge to Mr. Wards account.

To George Schuler jeweller Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich

One hundred and forty dollars from Capt. Atcheson 4 Inf

To Alvin S. Clark Riverside Detroit Michigan Twelve Dollars  
from Capt. Atcheson 4th Inftry.

I am Yours truly,

WG BULLOCK

\* \* \* \*

Fort Laramie D.T. June 3d, 1868

#### GENERAL

I have the honour to state that in accordance with your request, I have taken all the affidavits that was necessary to develop the facts connected with the shooting affray which occurred at "Curry's Ranch" on the evening of the 30th ulto and also to state that I have especially endeavoured to ascertain wheather or not this affray had any connection with the emigration of the Halfbreeds and Indians to the reservation to be established upon the Missouri River. In the Investigation I do not find any person or persons that have endeavoured to stop the expedition. But their are some white men who are acting in such an improper and illegal manner that they should not be allowed to go. I have examined many persons whose affidavits I have deemed necessary, who corroborate the affidavits as far as they concern certain parties who are above alluded to as improper persons to accompany the expedition and who might defeat the object which the Indian Peace Commission are so desirous of accomplishing. Enclosed herewith please find the affidavits I have taken and a list of the names of the

white men who have created the disturbance at the Indian Camp at Currys Ranch.

I have the honor  
to be Your Obt. Svt

W G BULLOCK

United States Commissioner

To Bvt Brig Genl

A J Slemmer

Commanding

Fort Laramie

D T

\* \* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & C

Fort Laramie June 4, 1868

Cheyenne

Gentlemen

Your several letters are to hand, but no packages for Col. Dye Dr. Schell or Col. McKibben. In the future please do not take from the express office any packages that is not addressed to my care or for me as the packages are brought here by the mail and I never see them. When you send packages by mail ask the driver to deliver all packages received from you to me in person. Please say to Lt. O'Brien to deposit the \$100 or any other amount he may collect from the Co with you. Please find for collection

|        |   |         |
|--------|---|---------|
| No. 13 | Wilson & Cobb infav C E Clay on J.A. Ware     |         |
|        | &c Cheyenne                                   | \$200   |
|        | John Finn infav M. Dickinson on Kountze &     |         |
|        | Co. Cheyenne                                  | 1,792   |
| 8      | Wilson & Cobb infav E.B. Griffin J.A. Ware    |         |
|        | &c Cheyenne                                   | 10      |
|        | do Infav E.M. Watson do                       | 41      |
|        | Two thousand and forty-three dollars. . . . . | \$2,043 |

I return you the Gillespie note and I can hear nothing of him after diligent enquiry. I think he must have been at Frank Ecoffey<sup>1</sup> ranch near Cheyenne on Horse Creek.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

P.S. I have a bill of clothing which will be sent from Chicago to your care to collect on delivery which please pay and send by first safe opportunity.

WGB

1. Letter of Contant published in ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 3, No. 2, page 47 "Frank Ecoffey was a native of Switzerland. B. 1836. Came to Fort Laramie in 1854. Herded stock and clerked for Bissonnette, the celebrated interpreter. He was with Bissonnette until 1861. Was Asst. Postmaster for

Fort Laramie May 13, 1868

Messrs Robert Campbell Co.

St. Louis

Gentlemen:

I had this pleasure this morning enclosing letters and receipts for Indian Department. I have now to trouble to make the following remittances for Col. R.P. McKibben (who generally comes in at the 11 hour).

To J.R. Ackerman 763 Broadway, New York City

Eighty Eight 50 /00 Dollars

To Hughes &amp; Miller, 841 Chestnut St.

Philadelphia, Penn. Seventy-two Dollars

To S.P. Brady &amp;c., Detroit, Mich.

One hundred and twenty Dollars

To Henry Lux 745 Broadway, New York City, \$17.00

In all Two hundred and Ninety Seven 50 /00 Dollars.

Yours Truly,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs. Stephens &amp; Wilcox

Fort Laramie. May 21, 1868

Omaha

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail which arrived yesterday of your letter of the 12th inst with enclosed bill of Hair Pipe amounting to two hundred and three 61 /00 Dollars for which please find S E Wards check No. 12 on Messrs J.A. Ware & Co Omaha for two hundred and three 61 /00 Dollars. I would be pleased to have you send me 100 yards tent cloth. You can box it and send as freight to the care of Messrs Megeath & Co. Cheyenne. I will forward check for the amount on the receipt of your bill.

I am Very Resptly

Your Obt Svt

W G BULLOCK

P.S. Please mark the Box

S E Ward Fort Laramie care Megeath &amp;c Cheyenne.

WGB

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Bissonnette in 1859-60. Went to Colorado, later was a guide for an expedition to recapture stolen stock from emigrants, cut hay along Sweetwater river for troops, kept a store at Platte Bridge. Was in charge of a wagon train for his brother for a time, later had charge of a ranch 6 miles east of Fort Laramie. Established a ranch in 1867 with Hi Kelly on Horse Creek. In 1867 married a daughter of Interpreter Bissonnette."



Fort Laramie. May 21, 1868

Messrs J. A. Ware &amp; Co.

Omaha

Gentlemen:

I had this pleasure on the 13th with remittance of checks and a note of John Finn payable at 1st Nat Bank Omaha, which I omitted to request you to put the requisite amount of stamps on the note before maturity. Please stamp it and charge to Mr. Wards account. Please purchase and ship to Col. Carling<sup>1</sup> A Q M Fort D A Russell<sup>2</sup> the following articles, as pr order enclosed for Col. W. Mc E Dye Fort Fetterman and charge to Mr. Wards Account.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Order for Col. W. Mc E Dye which mark and ship as follows:

Col. W. Mc E Dye Fort Fetterman

Care Col. E.B. Carling, A.Q.M. Fort D.A. Russell.

Please send the articles at your early convenience and send bill by mail to me

1 medium size plow<sup>3</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$  doz. garden hoes $\frac{1}{2}$  doz large watering pots $\frac{1}{2}$  " iron rakes

12 paper Radish. 20 Paper Beets

20 Papers early yellow six weeks beans

 $\frac{1}{2}$  cw turnip seed (different varieties)

20 papers (large papers) Sweet corn

6 papers Early York cabbage

6 papers Early Short Cucumbers.

The Garden seed please send by express to Posey Wilson marked Col. Dye care W.G.Bullock Fort Laramie

Yours

WGB

---

1. Camp Carlin was opened in 1867, one and one-half miles west of Cheyenne, selected by the War Department, as the main distributing point for supplies to the various forts and military camps throughout the West. According to J. F. Jenkins of Cheyenne, who was Captain of Commissary, U.S.A. in 1876, this camp was "named for Colonel Carlin, the Commander." The correct spelling of his name was Col. Elias Brown Carling but the "g" was seldom used. Perhaps his name was confused with that of an army officer named W. P. Carlin, who was stationed at Ft. Laramie with the 6th Inf. Reg. in 1855. He, however, left the country and went to California in 1858 and did not return to Wyoming until 1882. W. P. Carlin wrote various papers of historical significance dealing with Wyoming. Col. E. B. Carling took his own life at Ft. Sanders after leaving Camp Carlin.

2. Ft. D. A. Russell was renamed Ft. Francis E. Warren by Act of Congress effective January 1, 1930, in honor of Senator Francis E. Warren of Cheyenne.

3. In a report made by Capt. W. H. Evans at Ft. Laramie in 1866 he said that they were experimenting with gardens.

David Smith Esq. Fort Laramie D.T. May 28, 1868  
 Spring Dale  
 Leavenworth Co Kas.

Sir

I am requested by Mr. John McIver of this place to remit to you Eighty Dollars agreeable to his request I herewith enclose you S.E. Wards check on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis for Eighty Dollars for which acknowledge receipt for the same. Any Bank or Banker in Leavenworth will cash the check.

I am very Respectfully  
 W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie D T May 28, 1868

George Schuler Esq  
 No. 160 Jefferson Ave.,  
 Detroit, Mich

I am requested by George Stels to remit you fifty Dollars. Please find S.E. Wards draft on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis. Mo for that amount (\$50) please do me the favour to acknowledge receipt of the draft.

Respectfully yours,  
 W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie June 4th 1868  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Your favour of 27th ult. which stated enclosures was received by yesterdays mail. I herewith return you the note of W.H. Brown for \$150 as Mr. Brown declines paying it and says he will write you on the subject as he has offsets against said note. Please find for collection and Mr. Wards credit the following checks and notes. The three notes will require stamps which please place on the note and inform Mr. Ward of the amount of these and the other note of Finns on which you place stamps as Finn promised to pay him the Amt. Mr. W will be in your city in a few days.

No. 211 Ft. Fetterman. Oct. 31 /67 on 1st Nat. Bk. Omaha

Michael McGrath by Thos T. Quinn Bvt Capt. and  
 act QM

\$10.40

32 Ft. C.F. Smith. Jany 24 /68 Allen-Bowles 1st Nat Bk.

Walter F. Halleck

\$220.00

Note John Finn First June /68 infav S E Ward 30 dys. \$5557.15

" do 1st June " do 60 " \$7000.00

" " 1st " " " 90 " 7000.00

---

\$19,787.55

Please purchase and send to the care of Posey Wilson 3 common swinging coal oil lamps for a room 12 feet high (each one separate not chandalier) I want them for a company quarters of the most common kind please have them securely packed and send bill.

Yours truly  
WG BULLOCK.

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co., Fort Laramie, June 4th, 1868  
St Louis  
Gentlemen

Your esteemed favour of the 22d ulto came to hand by the last mail which arrived yesterday. Mr. Ward left here on the 27th with Genl Sanborn and the tail of the Indian Peace Commission for Cheyenne where he had sent the mule train which he intended to sell and has succeeded in doing so as he has informed by letter, reserving two teams for the use of the store. The trading brought \$29,000. He also sold his cattle to John Finn for beef which brought (\$20,700) Twenty Thousand seven hundred Dollars at 30,60 and 90 do /dys. I think a permanent peace has been accomplished and it only requires judgment and good management by the military to make it lasting. Please find enclosed for collection and Mr. Wards credit the following checks.

No. 8016 J.H. Mellord cash on Nat Bk State Missouri infav of  
Chas Holburt \$997.00

No. 6186 Nat Insurance Bk Detroit. Apl. 24 /68 infav R.P. )

Tomson Metropolitan Nat Bk. N.Y. Chas E. Cadman )

A Cash )\$250

12981 Washington Apl. 25 /68 on Asst Try N.Y. infav

John Dickert Thos H. Gardiner Pay M. \$100

\$1347.00

Will you please enclose a check for fifty dollars in each of the letters enclosed payable to the order of the address of each of the letters. and charge to Mr. Wards account. The Indian peace commission have recommended Mr. Ward as a special trader with the Indians the application I will forward by the next mail for your transmittal to the Indian Bureau for confirmation as Genl Slemmer has been much troubled by references from Washington in regard to the Maguiere claim against Mr. Ward (the woman who presented the receipt from Mr. Ward for money collected by Capt. Wells) You had better pay them or her the amt the receipt calls for as by with holding it it might do more injury at HdQuarters than the contesting would be worth. Please pay her and charge to Mr. Wards account.

Yours truly  
W.G. BULLOCK

Messrs. Robert H. Campbell & co. Fort Laramie June 4, 1868  
 St. Louis  
 Gentlemen:

I have the pleasure this morning making a small remittance. and I have to trouble you with another letter on business for some of the officers. Will you please remit to Edward Mc Bennett, Hunters Point, Long Island, New York, Thirty Dollars from Elizabeth Mc Bennett and also have 2 seines (two seines) made 60 feet long and 6 feet deep of the same size that you had made recently and ship at your early convenience as usual care Megeath &c Cheyenne D.T.

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

(Note: The following letter was very dim with the names almost indistinguishable.—A.W.S.)

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co., Fort Laramie June 6th 1868  
 St Louis  
 Gentlemen

Mr. Ward arrived here yesterday from Cheyenne and will return tomorrow. Having sold out his mule train and all his oxen. I herewith enclose you for collection the following vouchers<sup>1</sup> on the Indian Department for account of Mr. Ward and other parties; these vouchers are predicated upon appropriations yet to be made by Congress (unless passed recently); as the Commission has made a good peace which I think will now be kept by the Indians. I presume Congress will pass the necessary appropriations to carry out the treaty.

Please find a list of the vouchers enclosed.

Yours truly,

W G BULLOCK

List of vouchers the Indian Department sent  
 Messrs R. Campbell, St. Louis, Mo. for collection and S A Wards  
 credit. June 6th 1868

|                                     |         |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| 1868 May 27 in favor Nicholas Janis | \$68.60 |
| "    11    "    "    "              | 77.00   |

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1. Because most of these men were scouts and because runners were sent out in the spring of 1868 to try to bring the Indians in to the Peace Conference, it is logical to suppose that the above payments were made for scout service, and for interpreting. On the important Sioux Treaty of 1868 there appear the names of Interpreters: Chas. E. Guern, Nicholas Janis, Leon F. Pallardy, Lefroy Jott, Antoine Janis, Joseph Bissonette.



|          |   |                       |                           |
|----------|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| May 7    | " | Antoine Janis         | 68.60                     |
| " 11     | " | " "                   | 77.10                     |
| " 11     | " | Lefroy Jott           |                           |
| " 25     | " | " " (Too dim to read) |                           |
|          |   | A.W.S.                |                           |
| " 27     | " | " "                   |                           |
| " 2      | " | Charles E. Guern      |                           |
| " 28     | " | " "                   | \$200.00                  |
| " 11     | " | Charles E. Richard    | 919.18                    |
| " 19     | " | John Richard Jr.      | 406.61                    |
| " 21     | " | Louis Richard         |                           |
| March 23 | " | Wilson Crook          |                           |
| May 18   | " | Charles Janis         | 200.00                    |
| " 15     | " | H.M. Matthew          | 106                       |
|          |   | " "                   |                           |
| June 1   | " | William Tucker        |                           |
|          |   | S E Ward              | (Looks like four figures) |
|          |   | AWS                   |                           |
| May 20   | " | Samuel Deva           | \$17204.08                |

\* \* \*

Messrs Sanborn & King      Fort Laramie, D.T. June 6th /68  
 Atts at Law  
 Washington City  
 Gentlemen

Please find enclosed thirteen claims on the U.S. Government for depredations committed by the Sioux and other Indians also a power of att. from Martin Hogan for a previously sent you also two claims from Indians which your Genl S requested me to send you when I had the pleasure of seeing him here. Genl Sanborn has succeeded in making a good peace with the Sioux Indians and the Bands of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, who live in the Sioux country and the country will not in future be shocked by more horrid massacres by Indians. Please acknowledge receipt.

I am very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Beach Hinman Esq      Fort Laramie D.T. June 8th 1868  
 Atto At Law  
 North Platte City, Neb.  
 Dear Sir

I herewith enclose you a note on Leon F. Pallardy for Two Hundred and Eighty eight 92.00 Dollars, which please do me

the favour to collect at your early convenience. The note was given cash which Mr. Pallardy collected for me and used some eighteen months since Please acknowledge receipt of same.

I am Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

S E WARD

By W G BULLOCK

P. S. I am very well known to your brother

W.M. Hinman of your town

Yrs.

W G B

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.

Fort Laramie June 10th 1868

Cheyenne

Gentlemen

Your letter of the . . . came to hand today with enclosed amount Please find for collection and S.E. Wards credit as follows.

37, on 1st Nat Bk Denver. 1 May /68 in fav Wm H. Powell

George P. Ihrrie \$80.69

P. Master

4003 Cert Deps. Colorado Nat. Bk. May 9 /68 infav J. Basil Girard

J.G. Raymond AQM 126.51

Two Hundred and Seven 20 /100 Dollars 207.20

I have ordered some cloths to be sent me from Chicago to your care together with bill which please pay and send over by mail courier or by first opportunity.

Yours truly,

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co

Fort Laramie, June 10, 1868

Omaha

Gentlemen

Enclosed please find for collection and for S.E. Ward's Credit a voucher drawn by A.T. Chamblin Special Indian Agt. to be paid by H.B. Denman Supt Int Indian Affairs in favor W.H. Brown for \$680. Will you please purchase for me and send care of Megeath & Co. Cheyenne

2 sides good sole leather. 2 quarts 5 /8 pegs and

2 quarts 7 /8 pegs and send bill by mail.

I have forty-five acres of land which I purchased of Mr. E.B. Chandler, Clerk of the U.S. Court. Will you please do me the favour to pay the taxes on it Chandler told me he would attend to it but I presume he is otherwise engaged and I am affraid the property may be sold for taxes Your early attention to this will very much oblige

Your friend truly

W G BULLOCK

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie June 10, 1868  
 St. Louis  
 Gentlemen

Enclosed please find for collection and Mr. Ward's credit.  
 R.W. Clark Paymaster Check No 109 on Asst. Try New York in  
 fav W.G. Bullock for \$10,000  
 Please make the following remittances and charge to Mr. Wards  
 account to Benjamin Schell 10 & Vine St Philadelphia Penn  
 from Dr. H.S. Schell 500 and charge Mr. Ward up and credit  
 James Bridger<sup>1</sup> 1,200

In my letter enclosing Indian vouchers I enclosed one in  
 favour of Charles E. Guern for one hundred and ninety Dollars  
 which should have been forwarded to H.B. Denman Supt. Int  
 Indian Affairs, Omaha. Should think it best you can return it.  
 Business is very dull and I fear will continue so as our com-  
 mand is small. Mr. Ward will have reached home ere this  
 reaches you.

Yours truly  
 W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie June 10th 1868  
 Cheyenne  
 Dear Sir

Our Post master here Sgt L. Schnyder<sup>2</sup> has received a  
 letter from A. Lagendorf PostMaster Denver, Colorado Territory  
 informing him (Schnyder) that he holds a draft on him for  
 Eleven Hundred and twenty-one 85 /00 Dollars(\$1121.85) Mr.  
 Schnyder has deposited that amount with me. Can you not  
 get your correspondent to take up the draft and charge to Mr.  
 Wards account. Please be particular in regard to paying  
 this money as Mr. Schnyder has not been officially notified  
 that the draft was sent to the P.M. in Denver by the P.M. General  
 as is usual or should be.

Your Prompt attention will much oblige  
 Your friend truly  
 W.G. BULLOCK

---

1. Major James Bridger was employed by the Government as a guide and scout with the Western Division of the Powder River Expedition under direct command of General P. E. Connor. After the expedition he returned to Fort Laramie and spent the winter of 1867-68 at the Fort, having come direct from Fort Phil Kearny. In March 1868 he went with Major Grimes to Fort Fetterman. As a guide, Bridger traveled with his party or company in order to show the road and to keep the soldiers from becoming lost; as a scout it was necessary for him to be out in front well in advance of the company so that he could report all impending dangers.

2. Sergeant Leodiger Schnyder was stationed at Fort Laramie on continuous duty thirty-seven years. He arrived at the Post with Co. G, 6th Inf, Aug. 12, 1859 and was ordered east to take charge of an abandoned post in 1886.

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie June 18, 1868  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Your esteemed favour of the 1st inst came to hand by yesterday's mail. I note your remarks about the missing letter of date 13th ult. Their was no missing letter. It was a mistake of my making in the date, caused by my having my letter book before me at the time of writing and having much business on my mind. I am much pleased to learn of the safe arrival in New York of your Mr. Robert Campbell and family and hope they will reach you in the enjoyment of excellent health after their very delightful trip to Europe. Will you please do me the favour to remit to Miss Mary E. Reynolds, 224 South 40 St., Philadelphia Penn (\$500) Five Hundred Dollars from Mrs. Genl. Slemmer and charge to Mr. Wards acct. Laramie is very dull but little business doing.

Yours truly  
WG BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie July 2d 1868  
Cheyenne  
Gentlemen

Your favour of the 29th ult. came duly to hand with stated enclosures. I herewith return you the letter of the Auditor of the P O which please find enclosed. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks and Act Deposits

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| #2 Whittingham Cox infav T.E. True on Colorado Nat Bk              | \$20.29   |
| 6 do " Harriet L.R. Cox Kountze Bro & Co                           | 20.00     |
| do " W.G. Bullock do   | 40.00     |
| 8 do " Banger Ludlow do  | 200.00    |
| 2335 Cert Dep. infav Lt. Theo E. True Kountze Bro &co. do May 27   | 470.15    |
| 4 R.P. Barnard Lt. 4 Inf. A AQM Martin Hogan on 1st Nat. Bk. Omaha | 84.92     |
| 8 do R.C. Walker do  | 77.85     |
| 276 R. D. Clark Pay M W.G. Bullock on Omaha Nat. Bk.               | 76.75     |
| 277 do do  | 250.00    |
| 22 Theodore E. True A C S W H Powell do                            | 43.21     |
| 182 Thos F. Quinn Francis Hughes 1st Nat Bk. Omaha                 | 10.00     |
| 217 Henry Almstedt Pay M Henry Lemley Corpl on do                  | 200.00    |
| 2 R. P. Barnard Fred Hanson on 1st Nat .Bk. Omaha                  | 60.00     |
| Fifteen Hundred and Eighty three 16 /00 Dollars                    | \$1583.16 |

I have been suffering with toothache and neuralgia I can hardly write

Yours truly  
W G BULLOCK



\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie July 2d 1868  
 St. Louis  
 Gentlemen

I have the pleasure of receiving your two favours of 13th and 16th ult. together with the two seines. Some months since I wrote you ordering some papers and periodicals for Col. W. Mc E Dye<sup>1</sup> which you ordered for him. Col. Dye having gone up to Fort Fetterman D T. wrote to the Editor of the North American Review has received the enclosed answer from them. I enclose you his and the editors letters will you please attend to the Cols request. I know I am giving you a great deal of trouble but the Col. is a very clever gentleman and I cannot refuse him a favour. I also enclose two letters which please put in a check for the amounts called for in the letters. One hundred and one hundred and twenty dollars and mail and charge to Mr. Wards account.

Yours truly

W.G. BULLOCK

Checks to enclose in letter  
 Mr. Charles E. Bogardus \$100  
 Mrs. S.H. Bogardus \$120

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie July 8th 1868

Luke Galo Esq.  
 Col. E.B. Carling  
 Fort Russell.  
 Dr Sir

I received your dispatch in which you request me to send your check for Navy Bounty to you. I received the enclosed letters from Genl. Slemmer which will advise you that the check referred to from the Auditor for your Navy Bounty was sent to your agent Messrs Casey Frazier & Co., Washington City. Please find enclosed Mr. Tabors letter.

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK

P.S. Agreeable to Messrs Frazier & Co. letter herewith enclosed M.J. Higgins & Co. New York has not the money for your claim and you had better write to them without delay. Yours

WGB

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1. Col. William McEntire Dye.

P.S. Wilson Esq.  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie July 8th, 1868

Dear Sir

Your letter of 4th inst came duly to hand a part of its contents were somewhat obscure. You have endorsed on the letter successor to J.A. Ware & Co. I presume, has the firm been dissolved and you doing business yourself. Capt. Henry W. Patterson has some packages direct to Cheyenne to the care of J.A. Ware & Co by my instructions. Please keep a lookout for them at the Express office and the freight Depot or give Messrs Megeath & Co instructions to do so. Some of the packages may be too large to send by mail, if so keep them at Megeath & Co untill the opportunity occurs to send over; A trip to Va would be very pleasant especially if Seymour or Pendleton was our next president but that would be too much of a good thing to come to pass.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

S.P. Wilson, Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie July 16th, 1868

Dear Sir

Your letter of 13th inst came duly to hand. I did not know you had withdrawn from the firm of J.A. Ware & Co. I took the enclosed package addressed to J.A. Ware & Co Laramie. I presume it is a mistake or intended for Laramie City. I have taken the liberty of sending it you from this office as it seems to be valuable and you can give it its proper destination. I notice an error in the addition of your last account of \$200 the account adds up \$10,657.08. It should be \$10,457.08. To Balance should be \$1867.15. I regret that I am behind I have expected the Paymaster here for the last ten days, or I would have drawn on you as I have a large balance below. I will remit you as soon as I can get a check or will remit you the money. I am very well pleased with the nomination of Seymour as I think him an honest patriot. Frank Blair is all for himself so he floats and cares nothing for country or anything else What is the chance of electing the Ticket

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

Messrs Gallagher & Megeath  
Cheyenne  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie July 16, 1868

Your letter of 13th inst came to hand yesterday with enclosed account of James Bordeau.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bordeau left here for the Missouri River on the 7th of June and settled up his account. I would pay the account for Mr. B with pleasure but as he never mentioned the subject to me I do not feel at liberty to pay without his order. I expect him back here this fall and will retain the account. I do not know where a letter would reach him as has gone over to the Missouri River with some loafing Indians somewhere near the mouth of the White River.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Dr. Sir

Fort Laramie July 23, 1868

Your letter of . . inst to Mr. S.E. Ward came to hand by yesterdays mail. I wrote to Mr. Ward in regard to the corn as I was not authorized to sell the corn for less than four dollars. Knowing Mr. Ward would visit Omaha I presumed he would meet with Genl Myers as a previous letter to him from you had informed me that you had referred the matter to Genl M. but he did not see Genl M and he instructed me to say to you that he would deliver the amount wanted at \$3 three dollars as he was anxious to dispose of it.

To Col. E.B. Carling

A Q M

Fort Russell

D.T.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co  
St Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie July 23, 1868

I had the pleasure by yesterdays mail of receiving your two favours of 30th June and 13th inst with stated enclosures. Our business is very dull. I may say we are doing nothing. I very much fear the treaty made here with the Indians will amount to nothing more than a renewal of hostilities on the part of the

---

1. During the summer of 1867, James Bordeaux built a house at the point where the new Government road intersected the Fort Laramie and Fort D. A. Russel road on Chugwater Creek. His small store and road ranch were located about 250 feet west of the LD Ranch. Bordeaux placed Hugh Whiteside in charge of the new place, and returned to his roadhouse and small trading place about nine miles east of Fort Laramie.

Indians and a peace never accomplished as long as Government send such imbecils out to treat with them as Genl. Harney and his like. Will you please purchase for me about 300 # of Whitakers best hams (bacon) and ship as usual and please remit to Robert A. Jackson Gordonsville Virginia (\$44.50) Forty-Four 50 /00 Dollars from John Hunton of this place.

I am Yours Truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie July 25, 1868

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find for collection and Mr. Wards credit the following notes and checks as follows.

|  |                 |              |             |              |           |
|--|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| July 23 /68  | John Strailer   | in favour of | W G Bullock | on           |           |
|  |                 |              | John Finn   |              | \$142.20  |
| 23 /68   | do              | "            | do          | M. Dickerson |           |
|  |                 |              |             | do           | \$2675.60 |
| 23 /68   | Whittingham Cox | "            | W G Bullock |              |           |
|  |                 |              | Kountze &c  |              | 85.00     |
| Four thousand one hundred and eighty-two 80 /100 Dollars |                 |              |             |              |           |
|  |                 |              |             |              | \$4182.80 |

The amount you paid Frank Gordon was all right.

If Mr. Finn is not in Cheyenne his agent W C Slicer will attend to these notes or drafts the one given in . . . . . in . . . have been paid here by Mr. . . . 10th inst. It was deducted from one of John Finns notes which was payable in Omaha for cattle sold Finn and he asked as a favour to pay the amount (\$1421.20) here which I consented to. If you can purchase for me a handsome ladies horsewhip I wish you would do so and send by mail. Do not get it unless it is something nice as I want it for a present to a lady here.

Yours truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Hamilton Dague Esq  
Jersey Postoffice  
Licking Co. Ohio

Fort Laramie D.T. July 29, 1868<sup>1</sup>

Dr Sir

I am requested by John Dague a soldier in Co A 4th U.S. Infantry to remit you fifty Dollars. In accordance with his request I herewith enclose you S.E. Wards Check No. 547 for fifty dollars drawn on Messrs Robert Campbell Co. St. Louis,

1. The Territory of Wyoming was organized July 25, 1868, but word had evidently not yet reached Fort Laramie.



Mo. which any Bank or Banker in your state will cash for you. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and also to your son John Dague who is at Fort Fetterman, D.T.

Very Respectfully,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie July (date did  
St. Louis not trace)

Gentlemen

A.W.S.

I had the pleasure by the last mail which arrived yesterday of receiving your esteemed favour of the 8th inst with stated enclosures. The seine came safely to hand some days since. Please remit to Mr. Benjamin Schell 10 & Vine St., Philadelphia, Penn Three hundred Dollars (\$300) from Dr. H.S. Schell of this place. The Indian Treaty made here will prove a failure as a short time since the Indians were fired upon at Fort Phil Kearny by order of the Commanding Officer . . . when they were peaceably approaching.

Yours truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie Aug. 6, 1868

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure mail before the last of receiving your two favours of 25th and 27th ult. Mr. Slicer Mr. Finns Agent is here and owing to the Officer in Command at Fort Fetterman failing to send down the voucher for the delivery of Beef at that post Slicer has run short of money but he will promptly pay as soon as the voucher reaches Cheyenne or Mr. Finn. I was anxious to have the money paid as I had overdrawn my account with you. Which I did very thoughtlessly and which I promise not to do so any more.

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following Checks  
Wilson & Cobb on P.S. Wilson Cheyenne for \$96.32  
Thos. F. Quinn Ft. Fetterman Oct. 31.67 John Darcy 23.60  
Genl. Atcheson " July 5, 1868 Edward Sims 9.50

\$129.37

I have requested Lt. S.H. Norton 2d Cavalry to deposit with you \$258 money collected from his Co. I will also request of the same Regt. and Company to deposit . . . . . of his account of \$252 50 /00

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne  
Dear Sir

Fort Laramie August 6th 1868

I wrote you this morning enclosing a small remittance since then I have settled up Mr. Slicers acc for which he gave me his check on Messrs Kountze Bros & Co. Cheyenne for \$202.25 which please collect and place to Mr. Wards credit.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs. Robert Campbell & C. Fort Laramie August 13th, 1868  
St. Louis

Gentlemen

Your esteemed favour for Mr. David Runkin came duly to hand by the mail yesterday with stated enclosures. I have not yet received the bills of the shirts and shoe lasts. Please remit the proceeds of twenty-six Dollars (\$26.00) to Walter Joyce High Street Westport County, Mayo Ireland from Patrick Corcoran Co. F 4th Infantry of this place. Should Mr. L.F. Jones, a young man who lives with G.R. Robinson Esq of your city, present a bill for a suit of clothes for Hopkins Clark, please pay it and charge to Mr. Wards account and send me the bill. Mr. C is one of our clerks.

I am having a very unpleasant time the post now.

Yours truly,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Charles King Esq.<sup>1</sup>  
Washington City  
Dr Sir

Fort Laramie Aug. 13, 1868

Your favour of the 1st inst came to hand by the mail yesterday John Richard Jr. is absent from here at present. When he left here I advanced him several thousand dollars on his voucher as he informed me he had requested Genl. Sanborn to remit the check to me. He also left several amounts for me to pay from the proceeds of the check to other parties who are in want of the money and I would be very much obliged if you would send me the check on New York. Your Genl. Sanborn knows I am entirely responsible and that I do all of his business for him and without this amount his credit will seriously suffer.

Yours Respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK

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1. Charles King was stationed with the army in the West for many years. He wrote several novels including, "Laramie—Old Bedlam." He was later made a General in the United States Army.

Genl. J.B. Sanborn  
Washington City

Fort Laramie Aug. 13th 1868

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure by the last mail of writing to Messrs Sanborn & King in which I referred to the Indians and also to remarks made by Genl W.S. Harney in regard to myself. In which Genl H. wantonly done me great injustice and stated what he nor anyone else never had the slightest grounds for his assertion as it was contrary to everything I have said and done since I have lived in this Country. I herewith enclose some copies affidavits I have taken agreeable to the order or request of Genl. Slemmer. I do not wish to bore you but I do not wish a Gentlemen who I esteem, to think I was acting differently from what I was professing to do and when my whole energies was directed to carrying out your views and those of the Commission. I take the liberty of enclosing you the affidavits.

I very much fear that the peace with these Indians will be interrupted from recent occurrences at Fort Phil Kearney of which perhaps it is not proper for me to speak as doubtless it will be reported upon by the military. I also take the liberty of enclosing an account made here by Adolph Cuny which he said he was authorized to make by you which please collect and remit me a check for amount less your commission.

I am Yours Truly

W. G. BULLOCK

P.S. No Indians has visited this post since the 10th July when three came in here from "Red Clouds" Camp *said* they were looking for "Man Afraid of his horses" as they had heard nothing from him since he left the Fort Laramie.

Yours

WGB

\* \* \*

Col. W. Mc E. Dye  
Fort Fetterman

Fort Laramie Aug. 13, 1868

My Dear Sir

We last night had a meeting of the Billiard Club and it resulted in my having to take the tables, as but few persons had paid their portion of the shares and I to refunded what had been paid. Upon examination I find but three persons at your Fort who are now shareholders: Yourself, Lieut R. Brown and Lieut. Simonton. Capt. Atcheson had a share but I have given his account credit for his share. I herewith enclose you the amount of the three shares amounting to One Hundred and twenty dollars which please oblige me by paying Lts. Brown and Simonton their share forty dollars each Am sorry I could not have this thing settled up any sooner as I was afraid to

interfere in any way in regard to it as we are not harmonious here as I could wish. Neither is the garrison as pleasant as it ought to be. Mrs. B joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Dye and the Ladies and gentlemen at your post.

Believe me Your Friend

Truly

W G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

E.M. Pollock Esq  
Harrisonburg  
Penn

Fort Laramie D T Aug. 27. 1868

Dear Sir

I have received a letter from Col. C.H. Carlton Fort Fetterman a few days since in which he instructed me to remit you our check on St. Louis Mo. for forty one Dollars. Please find enclosed S E Wards check No. 551 in your favour on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis, Mo for that amount. Please acknowledge receipt to Col. Carlton for the same.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Obt Svt

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Aug. 27, 68

Your letter of 28th ult. with stated enclosures came to hand by the last mail having taken a trip to Salt Lake. Will you please remit the proceeds of (\$50) fifty Dollars in Greenbacks to Mrs. S. Fleming, No. 5 Back Armitage Street Manchester England from John Fleming Fort Laramie

Yours Truly

WG BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Omaha<sup>1</sup>

Fort Laramie Sept. 3, 1868

Dear Sir

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following checks

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| John Finn infav W.G. Bullock on Kountze Bro & C.         | \$200.00 |
| #2 Thos. H. Powell Bvt Maj infav Lt. Geo. O. Webster     |          |
| 1st Nat Bk. Omaha  | 12.73    |
| 3 G.F. Luhn Post Try " do Omaha Nat Bk. O.               | 97.51    |
| 7 R.P. Barnard A A QM in fav Chris Heinen 1st Nat Bk. O. | 29.75    |
| 24 " " Fred Hanson "                                     | 75.00    |
| Five Hundred and fourteen 99 /100 Dollars                | \$414.99 |

1. This evidently was a mistake as Posey Wilson was located in Cheyenne.



I telegraphed you today to let Nicholas Janis have One Hundred Dollars.

Yours Truly  
W G BULLOCK

How are the Red Skins About Cheyenne

\* \* \*

Messrs Stephens & Wilcox                      Fort Laramie. Sept. 3d 1868  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

I have today sent over to Messrs Megeath & Co Cheyenne with instructions to ship to your house  
12 pack Buffalo Robes  
5 Boxes Antelope Skins Marked W A  
2 Boxes Buck Skins                      "                      W B  
1        "        for Mr. Ward marked S E Ward, Nebraska  
The Box marked S E Ward please send to Mr. Ward, Nebraska City. The Boxes of Antelope and deer skins you had better hold unopened untill you hear from Mr. Ward. I will report upon the draft on Mr. Strader by the next mail as he has promised to pay it.

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obt. Svt  
W G BULLOCK.

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq                                      Fort Laramie Sept 10, 1868  
Cheyenne  
Dear Sir

Your letter of the 31st Aug with acc came to hand by the last mail. Please find enclosed an account against Messrs G.H. Kimball & co and also one against James R. Whitehead<sup>1</sup> which is time they were paid. I have no sale whatever for Messrs Kimball & co blankets as have no trade here for them. All the Indians and white people having left the Country and there is not the slightest chance to sell them. The 2 packages referred to for Messrs K & co and Wait are here. I had no opportunity of sending them forward and business is now so dull that I have Hoop Skirts on hand to last me for sometime. Please try and collect the enclosed accounts as they have been due for some time and I think Mr. Kimball might have said something about paying his account as I am not in the habit of being treated in this way.

Your friend Truly  
WG BULLOCK

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1. James R. Whitehead, considered by historians to be the first permanent resident of Cheyenne, was a partner in the law firm of Whitehead and Corlett.

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.      Fort Laramie Sept. 10, 1868  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Your favours of 22nd and 27th for Mr. David Runkin with stated enclosures came duly to hand. Please remit to Edward McBennett. Hunters Point Long Island New York (\$50) fifty Dollars from Elizabeth McBennett of Fort Laramie. Please find enclosed two letters from Lt. Bogardus which please enclose a check for one hundred dollars each letter to the order of the address on the letters and mail the letters and charge to Mr. Wards account. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards account. No. 40 John B. Sanborn Discharging Agent Ind Peace Commission on Asst. Try New York in favr of John Richard Jr. for (Saint Paul August 31, 1868      \$20,875.28

The Indians on the warpath again. We want some more Peace Commissioners here.

Yours Truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie Sept. 25, 1868

P.S. Wilson Esq.  
Cheyenne

My Dear Sir.

Your letter of the 14th came duly to hand the mail before the last, but owing to my indisposition I delayed in writing until I was better which I am at this time. I regret I cannot do anything for Mr. Kimball in the matter of purchasing his blankets, as we have no Indian trade here whatever, and very little fancy other kind. I will send his articles over by first safe opportunity. I notice we are to have a territorial Election on the 14th October and I am one of the Judges here who must I vote for for Congress & as I have seen no names announced. Send me a Ticket to vote anything but a Nigger Ticket and Frank Blair Ticket. Whitehead is treating me badly about the small account he owes and he ought to pay it promptly. Will you please pay the enclosed bill to Herman Hass,<sup>1</sup> blacksmith, and return me the bill receipted and charge Mr. Ward (amount of bill \$51.25) I omitted to send it by Mr. Hutton. Please find for Mr. Wards credit the following checks amounting to \$388.-44 /00 A list of checks on next page

WG BULLOCK

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1. Correct spelling should be Herman Haas. Mr. Haas was one of the finest blacksmiths and carriage makers in the West. He was in business in Cheyenne for many years after he left Fort Laramie. His son, W. G. Haas is at present (1941) Postmaster in Cheyenne.

List of Checks remitted by mail Sept. 25th, 1868 to P.S. Wilson  
Cheyenne

|     |                            |            |                          |          |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|----------|
| #29 | Omaha Nt. Bk.              | Aug. 8 /68 | infav W.G. Bullock       |          |
|     | F.C. Greegan               | 1st Lt.    |                          | \$62.00  |
|     | J. Gillespie               | Sept. 11   | do on H.D. Gillespie     |          |
|     | Cheyenne                   |            |                          | \$45.00  |
|     | Cobb                       | Sept. 21   | do P.S. Wilson           | 50.00    |
| #25 | Nt. Bnk Omaha.             | Sept. 4.   | A.J. Slemmer R.P.        |          |
|     | Bernard AAQM               |            |                          | 22.52    |
| 20  | do                         | Sept. 16   | do Robert Noonan "       | 14.00    |
| 27  | do                         | " "        | John Forde "             | 14.00    |
| 29  | do                         | " "        | Samuel G. Wright "       | 13.30    |
| 3   | do                         | July 1     | B. Barnheisel "          | 99.17    |
| 31  |                            | Sept. 21   | Alex J. Cobb "           | 23.45    |
| 12  | Kountze Bro & Co.          | Sept. 7    | W.G. Bullock Whittingham |          |
|     | Cox                        |            |                          | 30.00    |
| 14  | do                         | Sept. 14   | do do                    | 15.00    |
|     | Three Hundred Eighty-Eight | 44 /00     | Dollars                  | \$388.44 |

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq.  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie Oct 18, 1868

Dear Sir

I received the clothes cotton sheeting and butcher knives sent by the mail all correct. Please find enclosed a letter to Witter & Clements Claim Agents Denver. I wish you to send it to your correspondent in Denver with instructions to pay W & Co forty Dollars and get from them a check drawn by some Paymaster in favor of Benjamin Barnheisel on Asst Try New York for One Hundred dollars this check is for Bounty and W & C (will not send the check as it is to Mr. B. order until the forty dollars) for commission I presume) is paid which please have done and also get Mr. Barnheisels discharge from E & C. I enclose a letter to Messrs W & C from Mr. Barnheisel and also a letter from Messrs W. & C. to Mr. Barnheisel.

Yours Truly,

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co  
Omaha  
Gentlemen:

Fort Laramie Oct. 18, 1868

Your favours of the 22d and 23d ult with enclosed letter of Messrs Jay Cooke Co. came duly to hand. If Genl. Sanborn does not pay the voucher please return it without delay to me as Genl Sherman is authorized to pay these vouchers. In yours of the 23d you inform me that Lt. or Capt. O'Brien had

paid you sixty dollars for me. About the first day of January last this Lt. or Capt. informed me he had collected from his Company for us One hundred dollars and wanted to know what to do with the money. I by return mail requested him to pay into your house in Cheyenne, and Wilson wrote a note to him on the subject which this Lt. or Capt never noticed and I suppose he wants to charge forty dollars for collecting.

Yours truly,  
W.G. BULLOCK

P.S. I return you J.C. &co. Letter.

\* \* \*

Maj. James Stewart  
Sidney Barracks

Dear Sir

Your favour of 27 August did not come to hand until a few days since. I herewith enclose you our check for one hundred dollars on Messrs J.A. Ware & co. Omaha. I was pleased to hear you had a pleasant place which is more than we have here. The only excitement we have is the exaggerated reports about Indian Fights and which may prove a reality to some of us all should them Southern Indians come North. which they will do soon and you had better keep a sharp lookout for them as they will be very numerous. Laramie is very dull and the Officers are looking forward to the arrival of their new Colonel with much satisfaction and pleasure.

Your friend Truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.                      Fort Laramie Oct. 8th 1868  
Omaha  
Gentlemen:

I had the pleasure by yesterdays mail of receiving your favour with enclosed acc. Mr. Ward informed me that Messrs Stephens and Wilcox would deposit to his credit with you five thousand dollars which I presume they have done ere this. Please do me the favour to deposit in the First National Bank Omaha to the credit of Nelson Storey, four thousand dollars \$4000. and get the cashier to telegraph Nelson Storey Helena Montana that I have deposited that amount to his credit, he, the cashier paying for the dispatch. Please attend to this at your

1. This undoubtedly was Nelson Story, the man who took the first herd of Texas cattle up through Wyoming to Montana. An article entitled, "The First Cattle Up From Texas," written by Byron Story for the *American Cattle Producer*, November 1938 says: "It was in early 1866 that Nelson Story set out with two of his men for Ft. Worth, Texas. Near that city he bought 1,000 cattle, mostly cows with calves thrown in, at \$10 a head. They drove the cattle north to the Kansas line, then west along the boundary (a tick quarantine forced this) until they were 'past civilization's outpost,' then across Kansas into Neb-



early convenience. Should Messrs S & W not have deposited the amount refered to above Mr. Ward will be in Omaha in a few days and attend to it. please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit two checks as follows.

|   |    |    |            |
|---|----|----|------------|
| 26 Henry Almstead Pay Master infav Danie M. Austin on |    |    |            |
| 1st Nat Bk..  |    |    | \$40       |
| 129 Thos F. Quinn A AQM                               | do | do | 10         |
|   |    |    | <hr/> \$50 |

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Oct. 15, 1868

Your favour of 5th inst came duly to hand. I had this pleasure on the 8th inst, making small remittance and requesting transfer of money to First National Bank of your City. I herewith enclose you S.E. Wards check on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co., St. Louis for Five Thousand Dollars (\$5000) which amount I wish you to place to the credit of Nelson Storey in First National Bank Omaha and have the cashier Telegraph Nelson Storey at Helena Montana that I have deposited that amount the cashier paying for dispatch please have the cashier to attend to this at his early convenience. Should John Finn have paid his notes and Mr. Ward have the amount to his credit you can cancel the enclosed check and return it to me as I would perfer not using the check. May I ask the favour of you to call at the Herald Office and pay my subscription to the daily Herald as I believe it is past due.

Yours truly

WG BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne  
Dear Sir

Fort Laramie Oct 22nd 1868

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving your favour of 19th inst. I regret that Todd was defeated as he is a reliable

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raska, and then northwesterly to Ft. Laramie, Wyoming. From there to Ft. Phil Kearny. A little Indian trouble, and then to Ft. C. F. Smith, in Montana. Three weeks of a forced stay at Ft. Smith made my father desperate to the point of disobeying the officer's orders and stealing off one night so far that the officer dared not come after him. . . . . they trailed up the Yellowstone to the present site of Livingston, and there Nelson Story established a permanent camp."

Democrat. Who is elected. Has Abney & Real paid the Ben Mills note of \$700 I wish you would hold the draft on Finn and have it accepted when he comes over to Cheyenne. Please find enclosed for collection the following which please place to credit of S.E. Ward—

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Pay in my favour on P.S. Wilson for     | \$668.89 |
| amount on Megeath & Co                  | 139.87   |
| Jesse Brown infav C.E. Clay on A Street | 24.89    |
| Eight Hundred and Thirty Three 65 /100  | \$833.65 |

Yours Truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co Fort Laramie Oct.22d 1868  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Your favour of the 14th inst came duly to hand. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| No. 6590 Cert Dep. 1st Nat. Bank of Omaha Apl. 3,1868 order |          |
| Robert Bishop H.W. Yates A. Cechen                          | \$140.00 |
| 403 . Omaha. 28 Sept. on 1st Nat. Bank Geo. M.M. Randall    |          |
| Ben Alvord paymaster  | \$53.85  |

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| 18. R.P. Barnard 2d Lieut. AAQM, infav Chris Heenen | \$89.67 |
| Two hundred and Eighty three 52 /00 Dollars         |         |

Yours Truly  
W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co Fort Laramie. Nov. 5, 1868  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your favour of the 26th ult. Please find enclosed for Mr. S.E. Wards credit the following checks

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| No 39 R.P. Barnard AAQM infav Chris Duffy on 1st nat Bk. | \$13.80  |
| 40 do " Benjamin Delby do                                | 15.40    |
| 42 do " Robert C. Walker do                              | 122.92   |
|  | \$152.12 |

Will you please buy for me and send care P.S. Wilson Cheyenne a German Students lamp with ½ dozen extra chimneys and 2 doz wicks Please see that it is well packed.

Yours truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

L.D. Nelson Esq Fort Laramie Wyo Territory  
Farmington Van Buren Co. Iowa Nov. 19th 1868  
Dr Sir

I am requested by ..... to remit to you one hundred and thirty dollars. Please find enclosed S.E. Wards

Check No. 567 on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis for that amount (\$130 please oblige me by acknowledging receipt of the check and

Oblige Yours Respectfully  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

A Street Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 14th inst came to hand by the last mail. The account you refer to was collected from Capt. J. S. Hassler and placed to your credit. I was absent at the time the box arrived here and knew nothing of the circumstances, but I find on reference to your account that you are credited with that amount and also \$2.50 from Lt. Simonton for which please find Mr. Wards check on P.S. Wilson Esq for the two amounts viz. Hassler \$85.71 Simonton \$2.50 \$88.21  
I return enclosed the B of L.

Very Respectfully  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W.G. BULLOCK.

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.  
Omaha  
Gentlemen:

Fort Laramie Nov. 19 1868

Your fav of the 10th inst with enclosed letter of Messrs Jay Cooke & co came duly to hand. In regard to the voucher I am instructed by the owner to take the amount allowed \$340 and place to Mr. Wards credit. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks

|  |                  |           |
|--|------------------|-----------|
| No. 48 P.O. Barnard AAQM infav B. Barnheisel     | on 1st Nat Bk.   | \$272.50  |
| 26 do  | " Daniel Card "  | 5.60      |
| 45 do  | " W.G. Bullock " | 1000.00   |
| 427 Benj. Alvord Pay M. AA Surgeon J. J. Purcell | "                | 43.95     |
| 65 George Atcheson AAQM. Col. W. Mc E Dye        |                  | 10.00     |
| One Thousand three hundred and thirty two 05 /00 |                  |           |
| Dolls.   |                  | \$1332.05 |

The lamp arrived safe. I would be pleased if you would buy for me extra shades or globes for the same lamp and send by express care P.S. Wilson Cheyenne. as the person for whom it was ordered wants them.

Yours Truly  
W. G. BULLOCK

P.S. I return J. Cooke & co letters.

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie Nov. 19, 1868  
St. Louis

Gentlemen

I returned home yesterday after being absent several days hunting in company with Col. Dye the Commander of the Post. we were not very successfull on account of unpleasant weather but succeeded in killing nine elk and several deer and other small game. Red Cloud the Indian Chief came in here on the 5th inst with his band and signed the treaty and said the war was ended and his talk with Col. Dye was very satisfactory and I anticipated a large trade with the Indians this winter. In fact they said they would not trade anywhere but with me. I have today received the following copy of Order to Col. Dye from the Department Commander, presuming it from Genl. Sherman:

"H'Qr. Dept. Platte Nov. 4, 1868. Should Red Cloud or any other Indians come to your Post or Vicinity you will not permit any person to trade with them. You must not exchange or trade their furs Give them sufficient provisions to last them to Genl Harney, reporting transaction here. Let the Indians understand distinctly that they cannot trade with anyone off their reservation." Signed C.C. Augur Comd Dpt.<sup>1</sup> This order is directly contrary to what has been told the Indians both by the Indian Peace Commission and the different Post Commanders who have been acting under their instructions, and they induced the Indians to sign the treaty by these representations. These wild Indians were *plainly* and *repeatedly* told that they need not go on the reservation for anything unless they wanted to go but that no *presents* would be issued to them except on the reservation by Genl Harney but they could come and hunt and trade anywhere they wanted to on the North side of the North Platte and trade at Fort Laramie. But I presume peace is not wanted by the authorities. Will you please remit the following amounts and charge to Mr. Wards Account.

To Mrs. Mary Clark Niagara Canada West a check on New York Payable in currency for \$140.00

To Revd. Michael O'Donnell P.O. Killmeena, Near West Port, County Mayo Ireland for the widow Corcoran the proceeds of \$37 from Patrick C. Company F 4 Infantry.

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks

---

1. General C. C. Augur was put in command of the Department succeeding Brig. Genl. P. St. George Cooke, 1867. Camp Augur, established on the present site of Lander, was named for the General. Later the name of the Camp was changed to Brown. After Camp Brown was moved it was re-named Fort Washakie.



amounting to Six Thousand Three hundred and Ninety Five 20 /100 Dollars. Business is dull with us and I do not think we will again do a good business.

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq

Fort Laramie Nov. 26, 1868

Cheyenne

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 20th inst. came duly to hand with acknowledgment of Capt. Deviso deposit. Please find enclosed for Mr. Ward credit Wilson & Cobb on infav S E Ward on yourself \$156.26 also H.B. Kelly's note in fav Mr. Ward for \$1350.00

\$1,506.25

Kelly's note is not due until December 6 /9th /68

but I presume he will pay it at any time. Please notify him that you have it. Seth Ward who lives with S.F. Nuckolls<sup>2</sup> can inform you where he resides. In regard to the weather and coming winter I think all appearances tends to a favourable and pleasant winter. Can you inform me wheather Todd is elected to Congress from this Territory.

Yours Truly,

W.G. BULLOCK

P.S. Please charge Mr. Ward account with \$19.60 amount due you from Gibson Clark.<sup>3</sup>

W.G.B.

1. Hi Kelly, one of the early settlers of Wyoming wrote for the Wyoming Historical Department as follows: "I left Independence, Missouri the 8th day of May 1849, for California, up the North Platte, by way of old Fort Laramie then in the Dakotas, now Wyoming, at that time an American Fur Company post. . In '58 I took a train of supplies 36 eight mule teams from Atchison, Kans. to Salt Lake City. Mules got so thin and poor that we had to winter at Fort Laramie. In spring of '61 got a hay contract at Ft. Laramie to furnish 100 tons of hay at the post at \$29 a ton. In '62 the mail line was moved south and I followed it. In '63 went back to Fort Laramie and traded with the emigrants. Would trade them well stock for lame stock. In 1869 John Richards and I took a wood and hay contract for Fort Fetterman. The next fall came my first experience in the range cattle business. That fall I bought 200 head of two year old heifers on the Chugwater. The country was all open then and I had good success with the cattle."

2. Stephen F. Nuckolls was the first delegate to represent the Territory of Wyoming in Congress. In 1859 Robert Hawke and S. F. Nuckolls had the principal outfitting depot west of the Missouri river and in 1860 they established a branch house at Central City, Colo. From 1864-67 Nuckolls lived in New York City where he accumulated a large fortune in mining speculations. Following construction of the Union Pacific railroad in 1867 he engaged in the sale of general merchandise at Cheyenne, and upon organization of the Territory of Wyoming was elected in 1869 as a delegate for the term of two years. In 1871 he was chosen as presiding officer of the Second Legislative Council of Wyoming.

3. Gibson Clark was at one time a clerk in the Sutler's store at Fort Laramie as was also his brother, Hopkins Clark. Gibson Clark became one of the state's leading citizens, being a member of the Wyoming State Supreme Court.

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.

Fort Laramie Dec. 17, 1868

Omaha  
Gentlemen

On my arrival yesterday at home I found your esteemed favour of the 24ult. Please find enclosed a certificate of Deposit of Omaha National Bank in favour of Daniel Horgan bearing 6% int. also our check on you for \$100. Please hand in the Cert. Deposit and the \$100 to Omaha Nat Bank. Have the Interest calculated and get then to issue a Cert Dep. in favour of Daniel Horgan for the total amount and send to me. I found the weather fine on my arrival here and no snow or severe weather during my absence.

Yours truly

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie Dec. 24, 1868

P.S. Wilson Esq

Cheyenne

Dear Sir

I received the bill of Capt. Luhn last night. Please purchase for me one pair Colts Army size Pistols with scabbards and moulds and send over by old George. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit No. 25 Whittingham Cox Dec. 11 on Kountze Bro & Co Cheyenne for \$20. I have had my pulse felt by the doctor here several times since my arrival at home but he cannot make it more than seventy to the minute. I cannot account for the unusual rapidity unless it was the excitement of travel and wine I drank while in Cheyenne. When at home I may say I do not drink anything.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.

Fort Laramie Dec. 31, 1868

Omaha  
Gentlemen

Your esteemed favour of 22nd inst came duly to hand. In regard to certificate Deposit of Horgan he wants it payable on demand so he can draw the money when he . . . but have the back interest on the certificate of \$500 added in to the total amount.

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following checks totalling Seven hundred and seventy 64 /00 \$770.64

Yours truly,

W G BULLOCK

Messrs Thomas & Co.  
Omaha,  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie. Jany 6th 1869

I am requested by Lieut Henry Seaton to remit you thirty dollars. Please find enclosed S E Ward check on Messrs. J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for the amount \$30.

Please oblige me acknowledging the receipt of the check.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie. Jany 6, 1869

Messrs Stephens & Wilcox  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

I received by todays mail your bill for blankets &c. amounting to one hundred and ninety two 44 /100 for which please find S.E. Wards check on Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for that .....

(rest is dimmed out.—A.W.S.)

Order for Goods from Messrs Stephens & Wilcox

Omaha Jany 6, 1869

4 ps Blue Indian Cloth

2 ps Scarlet Indian do

6 Mexican Blankets

2 Ps Brown Opera Flannel. Medium Color not too dark

6 doz. brooms

½ gross Each Gentlemen and Ladies Garter laces

10 M Elys Water Proof Percussion Caps

300 # lead

3 kegs powder

3 doz.. Kerosene Lamp Chimneys small size about 1½ inch in diameter at base

½ Doz Lamp chimneys for small size German Student Lamps

4 Boxes Italian Macaroni or about 100 #

6 Doz Green River Ebony Handle Butcher Knives.

.... S.E. Ward Fort Laramie Care Megeath & Co. Cheyenne

WG BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robt. Campbell & Co.  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie. Feby 11th 1869

It has been some time since I had this pleasure. I received your favour with receipt of the St. Louis Republican for which please accept my thanks for your kind attention. Our business is not good and if the Military Commanders by their orders can make it worse they certainly will exercise their ingenuity to do

so. What with Sherman with Indians and Dye with whisky our business is seriously curtailed.

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks.

Edward Yard Phila Dec. 22d /68 infav Clara A. Price on Nt.  
Bk. Republic, N.Y. \$500

T.B. Blecher Jr. V. Pres, Feby 9, 69 in fa W.P.  
Hansford N. Bk. Om 180

W.J. Canole Pen agt. Thos S. Bell Dep. U.S. Balitmore 179.85

Marshall & Illsley Hon. A.G. Miller on Drexel & Co 100.00  
do " do 100.00

One Thousand and Seventy-three 35 /00 Dollars \$1,073.35

Please make the following remittances and charge to Mr. Ward's account. To Mrs. Anna E. Webster care E.B. Webster, Bridgeport, Conn—One hundred dollars from Lieut. Geo. O. Webster Fort Laramie

To Widow Ann Monahan Dromskinney, County Fermanagh, Ireland, the value of \$30 in currency from Bridget Monahan.<sup>1</sup>

I am doing all I can to keep our Indians quiet under Genl. Sherman's prohibition to trade here and hope I will succeed and disappoint his hopes of more glory in exterminating a few vagabonds. We have had a most delightful winter and the weather continues as mild as if we were in the tropics.

Yours truly,

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie April 1, 1869

William Wilson Esq  
Helena Montana

Your letter of Mar 5th came duly to hand by yesterdays mail, and agreeable to your request I herewith enclose you S.E. Wards check No. 581 on Messrs Robt Campbell &c St. Louis Mo. for the balance due you on your discharge papers which I collected from the paymaster thus amount due on discharge \$69.85

Charges for collection 5.85

Balance due you. (Check enclosed for amt.) \$64.00

I had much *difficulty* and *delay* in collecting this money as the papers were improperly made out and I had to place

---

1. Bridget Monahan may have been one of the women who washed and mended for the soldiers. Caspar Collins in writing of Ft. Laramie said: "There are five women allowed to a company, who are furnished with transportation and rations and wash and mend, etc. Their pay is kept out of the soldiers' wages and given to them on pay day. In this post there are little houses prepared for their especial benefit, of two rooms each. They are nearly all Irish and Germans, but are a great deal more intelligent than I expected to see them."—Spring: *Caspar Collins*.



them in the hands of a lawyer hence the charge for collecting. Also find enclosed your discharge. The amount paid me by the Pay Master is endorsed by him on the back of the discharge. *Please acknowledge receipt.*

Yours respectfully,

W G BULLOCK.

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie. April 1, 1869

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.

St. Louis

Gentlemen

Will you please remit the following amounts and charge to Mr. Wards account. To Miss Mary Irvine, 202 South 12 Street, Philadelphia Pa. Eighty-five dollars (\$85) from Mrs. James M. Cooper.

To Hugh Broderick Boleshun Dunngriffin P.O. Galway Co. Ireland, from her daughter Margaret Glenn the proceeds of Twenty Dollars in Greenbacks. We have had for some time some two thousand Indians in this vicinity in a starving condition. They were allowed by Genl Shermans order to trade two hundred and fifty rations from the company of Subsistence at the Post they have left in great want and I am informed that many of the women and children have perished since they left here. Genl. Harney has not had the provisions to feed these Indians on during the winter and spring if they had gone to the much talked of reservation. John Richards Jr.<sup>1</sup> has been allowed by Genl Sherman to trade with all the Indians on the North side of the Platte, Crows, Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes. But he has not yet been able to cross the River as the Indians object to having any trader but myself. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes who have about two hundred pack robes (and very superior ones) sent word that they would not trade their robes to anybody but me, and I must get goods for them. Col. Dye would give me permission, but his orders forbid his doing so. We have very severe weather during the last month but have been very fortunate in not losing any stock.

Yours truly,

W.G. BULLOCK.

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1. John Richards, Jr., evidently was a son of John Reshaw. The first bridge built across the North Platte river in what is now Natrona County was built in 1854 and 1855 by John Reshaw, or Richard, a French-Canadian, about 3 miles east of Casper. Reshaw was married to a squaw, and had five or six children. He did a thriving business at his bridge in high water time. Usually charged \$5.00 for a team and wagon to go over his bridge. Reshaw and his family moved in 1867, after the Indians burned their bridge, to the Red Cloud Agency on the White River, east from Fort Laramie.—ANNALS OF WYOMING.

Fort Laramie. April 14, 1869

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.  
St. Louis

Gentlemen

Please make the following remittances and charge to Mr. Wards account.

To Mrs. Mary Clark Niagara Canada West from her  
husband John Clark..... \$100.00To Revd Paul Heany P.P. Kiltelly, County Limerick Ireland  
from Denis Hickey.... Pounds 10To Timothy Ryan Tower Hill, County Limerick, Ireland for  
Mrs. Ellen Hickey from John Hickey.. Pounds 5

Please inform me if convenient what the two amounts £10 and £5 amount in Greenbacks so that I may charge the amounts to the soldier who has about two hundred dollars on deposit. If you can get a check on the Bank of Limerick it would be more convenient for the parties to collect. Our business has a prospect for the better as we have an addition to our post of two Cavalry companies. The Indians still hang around the vicinity of this post in a starving condition. But I nor anyone else is allowed to trade with them but John Richard Jr.

Yours Truly,

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs. J.S. Ware & Co.  
Omaha

Fort Laramie. April 15, 1869

Gentlemen

I received your letter some time since in which I perceive I overdrew my account. Please find enclosed Mr. Wards Credit No. 555. R.D. Clark, Paymaster, Ft. Laramie Apl. 12 on First Nat. Bank in favr W.G. Bullock for \$3000. Will you please purchase and send me 1 pr silver bars for 1st Lieut. Epaulets by mail.

Yours Very Respectfully

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory  
April 29, 1869J.S. Whitehurst Esq.  
San Jose, Cal.

Sir

Your letter of Feby 12th came duly to hand some days since and agreeable to your request I herewith enclose you your discharge and R.D. Clark's Paymaster U.S.A. check on the

Asst. Treasury U.S. New York No. 25 for \$53. the balance due you as follows:

Amt. due on your discharge.....\$58.59

Charges for collecting..... 5.59

Balance due you..... \$53.00

Maj. R.D. Clark Paymaster U.S. Check..... 53.00

I would not have charged you any commission for collecting but I had to pay it an agent at Washington as the papers were improperly made out and I had to have the papers sent to Oregon where the mustering out officer had gone. Please acknowledge receipt.

Very Respectfully.

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie April 29th, 1869

P. Wilson Esq

Cheyenne

Dear Sir

Your letter with bills of Capt. Miller and Maj Collier came duly to hand with Boots and box of sleeve buttons from Joslin & Park the latter bill very high. Please find enclosed a note of W.S. McKenzie and F. Lund in favour of John Richard Jr. for \$3000 I am requested to send this note to the First Nat Bank, Nolen & Wery, Helena Montana Territory can you collect this note. If so please do so without delay.

Very truly yours,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Posey S. Wilson Esq

Cheyenne

Dear Sir

Fort Laramie May 6th 1869

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your two favours with amount currency.

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following Checks and Certif Deposit

B.B. Mills May 6th, 1869 on Posey S. Wilson \$1223.52

No. 3791 Cheyenne Mar /16 /69 infav Faederich Eich

Kountze Bro 101.50

One Thousand three hundred and twenty-five 02.100  
Dollars \$1,325.02

Please purchase and send by George 1 Brass hoop cedar bucket 1 wooden foot bath. 1 Doz Kay's Cue Cement 2 pounds Oxalic acid

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

Sent Fletcher & Thomas Dft on Fort Topeka, Ks. for \$200—  
fav. Lambert White for collection. (In pencil.—AWS)

\* \* \*

Messrs. J. A. Ware & Co

Fort Laramie May 6th 1869

Omaha

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your  
esteemed letter of the . . . with the epaulette bars. Please find  
enclosed for Mr. Wards credit

No. 567 Ft. Fetterman Apl 15 /69 on lsf Nat. Bank Omaha  
infav Patrick Gallagher Co. E 4th Inf. R.D. Clark Pay M \$350

Yours Truly,

W.G.BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.

Fort Laramie May 13, 1869

St. Louis

Gentlemen

Your esteemed favour of 29th inst came duly to hand by the  
last mail which arrived yesteday. I had a list made which  
should have accompanied the mutilated currency which was  
sent from Cheyenne. On my arrival at Cheyenne I was suf-  
fering from a severe cold which I contracted in a severe snow  
storm in going over as I went over with our wagons and had  
to sleep out without shelter during the trip, and gave the money  
to our banker in Cheyenne to send to you and did not put it in  
a package myself. the amount sent was \$3,035 70 /100.

Please find enclosed for collection for Mr. Wards credit  
Henry W. Patterson dft infav of S.E. Ward on Alfred Patterson  
Esq (President of the Bank of Commerce) Pittsburg, Pa for  
\$150—also find enclosed Our Indian acc amounting to \$8,-  
966.90 which I am directed by Mr. Ward to send you for  
collection. The amount over runs the amount authorized by  
the letter of the Indian Commission, but Genl. Slemmer died  
before he approved account as the accounts were all made  
out for his approval a few days before his death. He died sud-  
denly, having gone to bed in apparent good health, he was  
a corpse before one o'clock in the morning said to have died  
with disease of the heart. I hope there will be no difficulty in  
collecting the acc as I have attached my affidavits with In-  
terpreters and a certificate of Col. R.B. McKibben who was  
a part of the time in Command of the Post and was always  
present at the distribution of these goods to the Indians. We  
have a new Commanding Official Genl F.F. Flint, Col. of the  
4th Infantry. He is an officer of the Old School and formerly of

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1. Heitman *History Register*, General. Adam J. Slemmer died Oct. 7,  
1868.



the 6 Infy an accomplished Gentleman and a superior soldier. We are very much pleased with him and I really feel like one reprieved out of the Penitentiary. Col. Dye has not yet received his New York Herald Could you have it sent to Fort Fetterman as he has been sent up their.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Charles King Esq  
Washington City  
Dear Sir

Fort Laramie, Wyo. Ty  
June 4th 1869

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your esteemed favour of 20th ult. with enclosed treasury draft for \$397 12 /100 for which please accept my kind thanks. Please find enclosed Edward Wright Paymaster U.S.A. check No. 122 on Asst Try New York for \$39.71 /100 which I hope will be satisfactory.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Obt Svt

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie June 4th 1869

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks. No. 4 G.L. Luhn Lt. 4 Inf. on 1st Nat. Bk. Omaha in my fav for \$1200 433 Edward Wright Paym. on Omaha Nat. Bk. Posttrader bearer 5.00  
407 Edward Wright Paym. on Omaha Nat Bk S E Ward

|     |   |       |    |       |
|-----|---|-------|----|-------|
|     |   | order |    | 20.00 |
| 364 | " | "     | do | 12.00 |
| 311 | " | "     | do | 12.00 |

Twelve Hundred and Forty nine Dollars. \$1249.00

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & co  
St Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie June 4, 1869

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving your two favours of the 24th and 27th ult. the former containing "Invoices".

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following checks  
 No. 2443. S. B. Tuttle Asst Treas infav S.E. Ward \$397.12  
 121 Edward Wright Paymaster infav W.G. Bullock on  
 Asst. Try. New Yor. \$7,000.00  
 6205. Marshall & Illsley Milwaukee Apl. 10th /69 infav  
 Hon. A.G. Miller on Drexel & co Phila  
 Seven Thousand four hundred and Ninety seven 12 /100  
 Dolls \$7,497.12

Yours truly  
 W G BULLOCK

P.S. Please find below a small order which please fill at your early convenience and forward as Mr. Ward has forwarded his other goods.

5 M White Letter Envelopes good quality  
 3 Rms. Letter Paper. 2 rms Note paper. 1 Rm French note  
 1 Doz Blk Ital Cravats (28 inches) 1 ps. Fine White Jaconet  
 W.G.B.

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Fort Laramie June 21 1869

Your letter containing account current came duly to hand by yesterdays mail, please find enclosed a Certificate Dep from Omaha Nat Bank. No. 4754, payable 6 mo. after date in favour of Daniel Horgan. Horgan wishes the interest calculated on this Cert. Dept. and \$60 46 /100 added (for which please find our check on you) and a certificate Deposit for Eight Hundred Dollars payable 6 mo after date bearing 6 pr ct. interest, which please return to me. The Enclosed Cert Dep is not due until July 2d 1869. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit G.L. Luhn ck on 1st Nat Bk Omaha in my favour for \$600.

Yours truly,  
 W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Posey S. Wilson Esq.  
 Cheyenne  
 Dear Sir

Fort Laramie June 11, 1869

I had the pleasure of receiving your favour with acc and check and find some discrepencies. A list of which please find enclosed. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit Whittingham Cox's ck on Rogers & Co. No. 1. June 5th /69 in my favour for \$250.

Yours Truly  
 W G BULLOCK

Messrs Robert Campbell & co. Fort Laramie June 18th, 1869  
 St Louis  
 Gentlemen

Some time since about the 20th April I wrote you requesting the favour to remit the following as the parties have not yet received the check I presume my letter must have miscarried. If you have not received the letter and remitted please remit to Mrs. Sarah Fleming care E.A. Preston Wings Station Dutchess Co. Harlem R R New York from John Fleming \$40. To Miss Maggie McNulty care Theodore Preston Wings Station Dutchess Co. Harlem R R New York \$40 from George Roswell.

May we expect the pleasure of a visit from your Mr. Robert Campbell this summer in connexion with the Indian Commission he is one of the representatives. I shall be very much pleased to see him and also entertain him and the other Commissioners at my house if they will honour us with a visit. In fact this is the only place to see any of the Sioux who are in a state of nature or who it is desirable that should be made to understand they are to go on the reservation which has been so improperly selected by Genl. Harney to starve to death on. There are no Indians to see on the Whetstone reservation but a few drunken loafers and much can be learned by a visit to this post.

Very truly yours  
 WG BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie June 18, 1869  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Please find enclosed a certif Deposit from 1st Nat. Bank. No. 844 Oct 11, 1868 in fav of Chas Weachman which the said Weachman wishes a new certft Dep as his Lieut W.M. Longshaw who was keeping the cert for him and who seems not overburdened with brains has unnecessary put a long endorsement on it. If is agreeable to the 1st Nat. Bank to issue a new "Certif Dep" and take up this bearing interest please get the bank to do so and return to me Have the Cert payable to order of Chas Weachman.

Yours truly  
 W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie July 30th 1869  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following checks

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| No. 9 J.E. Burbank Paymaster infav W.G. Bullock | \$800.00 |
| 23 P.M. Eder & Co., Elko, Nevada                | 365.00   |

|   |                   |           |
|---|-------------------|-----------|
| No. 4 Z. Rudd, Cashier                        | " do              | 20.00     |
| 468 R.D. Clark, Paymaster                     | " Hugh O'Rourke   | 40.00     |
| John A. Burbank Gov & Ex Off Sup Ind Benjamin | Barnheisel        | \$218.17  |
| George W. Dost. In fav.                       | " W.G. Bullock    | 26.44     |
| 129 Leander Genord                            | " Geo. O. Webster | 39.13     |
|   |                   | <hr/>     |
|   |                   | \$1538.74 |

Fifteen hundred and thirty eight 74 /100

Yours truly,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Posey S. Wilson, Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie July 30, 1869

Dear Sir

Your favour with state . . . . . came duly to hand.. Col. Bailey. . . . . when I presented the note of Mosseau & Wilson to the former and he said he would pay it as soon as he received the pay for his wood which would be in the course of ten days. He is delivering wood for John Coade. He will pay the note so I retain it. Is John Coade responsible or is his check good for the amount. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit John Phillips ck on you for \$200.

Yours truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co.  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Aug 6th 1869

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your esteemed favour of 22d ult. Will you please remit to Mr. James Clark. . Clark Co., Virginia a check on New York for \$350 from G.&H.C. Clark of this place. Also remit to the Widow Catharine Corcoran care.... Westport County, Mayo, Ireland.. the proceeds of \$20 Currency from Patrick Corcoran Co. F 4 Infy and charge to Mr. Wards account.

I have now with me as my guest Professor Bartlett and wife of Westpoint the father in law of Genl Schofield, a most distinguished agreeable old Gentleman and originally from St. Louis.

Yours Truly

W.G. BULLOCK

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1. John Hunton writing for ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 4, No. 2 said - "In March, 1868, there was located on La Bonte Creek a road ranch owned and run by Mr. M. A. Moseau. There was a ranch at the old abandoned stage station on Horseshoe Creek which was conducted by William Worrel and John R. Smith; a ranch at Twin Springs, four and one-half miles east of the last named ranch, also owned by M. A. Moseau, who employed a man to run it. Big war party attacked these ranches and destroyed and burned them. Moseau and his family escaped to Fort Fetterman."



J.Q. Shirley Esq  
Elko, Nev.

Fort Laramie. Aug. 12, 1869

Dear Sir

I had this pleasure a few days since, of writing you informing you that I had instructed Messrs Wilson & Morton to forward your note to you at Elko City. But I had previously ordered the note to be sent here to me. I herewith enclose the note with my thanks for your prompt attention which I hope will reach you safely.

Yours respectfully,  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W. G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Shaw & Co.  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie, Aug. 13, 1869

Your favor of 3d inst came duly to hand. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following checks.  
19 George W. Dost. Capt. AQM infav Capt. Henry H.

|   |                  |                            |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
|   | Patterson        | \$2222.74                  |
| "   | "                | " John Miller 4 Infy 98.35 |
| "   | "                | " W.G Bullock 20.00        |
| Coad & Bro infav W.G. Bullock               | Aug. 9th on J.A. |                            |
|   | Ware & C         | 150.00                     |
| Four Hundred and Ninety one 09 /100 Dollars |                  | \$491.09                   |

\* \* \*

I enclose S.E. Wards check on you for five hundred and twenty Dollars for which please send me certificate Deposit in favour of Charles Stewart bearing 6 per cent interest payable six months after date. If you do not wish to do such business please get a certificate from Omaha Nat. Bank. Will you please purchase for me from a p. . . . of a Champion Mower No. 3 a pattern of which I herewith enclose and send by express to me Care P.S. Wilson, Cheyenne. Send bill by mail. I bought the mower when I was in Omaha last from Smith Hopkins & Housal. I think they live on the street west of Farnum Street. If they have not the piece please get them to order it.

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

(Memo in Pencil—AWS)  
Oct 29, 1869

The above letter was lost in transmission and we have received from Capt. Dost a ck for \$341.09 in lieu of the above cks given by him—and the entry of Aug. 16 re J.A. Ware & Co.,

has been changed from \$491.09 to \$341.07 and for the ck of Coad & Bro. we have received his ck on Wilson for \$150 included in one for \$650—which has been sent to Wilson.

\* \* \*

Messrs. Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie. Aug. 3d 1869  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit D. Strauss Bill ex infav William A Kapp on Wolfer & Kalischer New York for \$400 (in Gold) which I purchased \$1.25. Please inform me of the credit when disposed of. Please remit to Mrs. Mary A. Griffin, Carlisle Pennsylvania from John N. Lawson Ft. Laramie . . . \$200. We were visited day before yesterday by seven Indians who took four head mules from us. They were fine valuable animals. We would be better without the military than with them anyhow when we have such a Department Commander.

Yours Truly,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Dear Sir  
Fort Laramie, Wyoming Terr.  
Aug. 20. 1869

Wishing to collect up all my outstanding debts I hope it is convenient for you to remit me the amount I let you have in St. Louis some two years since. It was one hundred Dollars Business is very dull here and I am much pressed for money at this time.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Obt Svt

S E WARD

To  
Bvt Col. Elmer Otis  
Fort Boise  
Idaho, Terr.

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co Fort Laramie Sept. 3d 1869  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Please find enclosed for S E Wards credit. Edward Yards check, Philadelphia Aug. 16 /69 on National Bk Republic N.Y. in fav Clara W. Price five hundred dollars. . . . \$500.00

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie. Sept. 3d, 1869  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen:

I had the pleasure this morning enclosing check. Enclosed please find our check on you for \$259.26 to take up Col. E.L. Baileys note about due at Omaha National Bank which retire and send by mail

Very Respectdully

Your Obt. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Iler & Co. Fort Laramie. Sept. 17, 1869  
 Omaha  
 Gentlemen

Please find enclosed S.E. Wards check on Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Omaha for the bill made with you 27th August amounting to Nine Hundred and Eighty-Eight 40 /100 dollars (\$988.40 /100) by Mr. Ward. Please acknowledge receipt.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie. Sept. 17, 1869  
 Omaha,  
 Gentlemen

Your two favours of 8th and 10th came duly to hand by the last mail with stated enclosure. Please find our check for the balance due Col. E.L. Baileys note. \$6.16 /100 find enclosed for Mr. Ward's credit the following checks viz

|   |                 |          |
|---|-----------------|----------|
| No. 187 J. E. Burbank Pay M. July 24 /69 R.P. Barnard on    | A.T. N.Y.       | \$300.00 |
| Whittingham Cox. Sept. 9 Sept. 9 /69 W.G. Bullock           |                 |          |
|   | Nat Citizens Bk | 100.00   |
| No. 6266. Marshall & Ilsley July 22 /69 A.G. Miller. Drexel |                 |          |
|   | & Co. Phila     | 91.67    |
| 6275        "        Aug 9,69        do        do           |                 | 92.00    |
|   |                 | <hr/>    |
| Five Hundred and Eighty Three 67 /100                       |                 | \$583.67 |

I have requested P.S. Wilson Cheyenne to remit you by this mail five hundred dollars.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

Posey S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne  
Dear Sir

Fort Laramie Oct, 1st 1869

I received your letter with enclosed paper for which please accept my thanks. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following checks

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| No. 217 J.E. Burbank Pay M. USA in my fav for | \$2500 |
| on Asst. Ty. N.Y.                             |        |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Coad & Bro. on Rogers & C. Joseph Armijo | 61 |
|--|----|

|  |    |
|--|----|
| W.S. Bramel in fav David Ditto Sep. 20 | 40 |
| on you for                             |    |

Twenty-six hundred Dollars

---

\$2601

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

B.M. Heeman Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie Oct. 1st, 1869

Dear Sir

I received by yesterdays mail an envelope with two bills enclosed which I presume was from you as one of the bills was your own and the other E.A. Allen & Co. for paint.

I however enclose you our check for the two bills amounting to \$14 (Allens bill \$12.50 your bill 1.50) on P.S. Wilson Esq. Please pay Messrs Allen & Co. bill.

Yours Truly

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Oct. 1st, 1869

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your esteemed favour of the 23d ult, and must ask the favour of you to accept my kind thanks for the flour. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit. J.E. Burbank Pay M. U.S.A. Ft. Laramie. Sep. 30, 1869 in fav W.G. Bullock on Asst. Try. New York. No. 218 for \$2500 Please remit to Mrs. Mary Hagan care Mr. Stewart Post Master Binghampton Broom Co New York forty Dollars from Dennis Hagan. I regret to inform you of the unfortunate conduct of young John Richard. He as a sub. . . . .<sup>1</sup>  
(Note: Rest of letter was not printed.—AWS)

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1. According to Hi Kelly: "During the summer of 1869 I was working with John Richards on a wood and hay contract at Fetterman. He got drunk, and was riding along in front of the sutler's store at Fort Fetterman, he shot and killed a soldier who was sitting alongside of the store and then went with the Indians who were on the warpath."



Messrs J.A. Ware & Co  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Oct. 7th 1869

I telegraphed you this morning asking the favour of you to place One Hundred Dollars to the credit of Mrs. W.H. Brown and charge Mr. Ward. I herewith enclose you G.L. Luhn Capt. A AQM on 1st Nat Bk. Omaha No. 8 in my favour for five hundred Dollars which place to the credit of Mr. Ward. I presume you have heard nothing of the missing letter with checks which I supposed had been captured by some *honest* Postmaster as recently several letters have been missing between here and Omaha with money in them.

Yours Truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs. Robert Campbell & Co.  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie. Oct. 15, 1869

Your esteemed favour of the 2d inst came duly to hand with stated enclosure. Please find for Mr. Wards credit No. 45,566 United States Trust Co. New York. Oct. 1st. 1869 in fav. Wm. Seaton on Manhattan Co., N.Y. for . . . \$600

Please make the following remittances and charge to Mr. Wards account To Capt. W.O. Fry Madison C.H. Virginia Seventy five Dollars (\$75) from John Hunton.

To Miss Maggie McNulty care Theodore Preston Wings Station, Harlem Rail Road New York. Seventy Dollars, from George Rowsell.

Yours Truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Oct. 15, 1869

I have applied to the A AQMaster at Fort Fetterman for the three lost checks he drew on the First Nat. Bank the payment of which I believe you ordered stopped. Should you not have stopped the payment of them please do so. I enclose list of the remittance. Coad & Bro for their check will give a check on Cheyenne. In this missing letter I enclosed you our check for five hundred and twenty dollars for which I wish you would send me a certificate deposite payable to Charles Stewart at six months date bearing six per cent interest. I now enclose a duplicate for the above check. which please send me the "Cash Deposite". If you do not wish to issue the Cert please get it from the Omaha Nat Bank. I have an order on your

house from John Richard in favour of Louis Richard for two thousand dollars when collected, please inform me it is all right—please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit the following check No 10 G.L. Luhn Capt A AQm Oct 12 /19 infav W.G. Bullock on First Natl Bank for \$1000.00

Very Respectfully

Your Obl. Svt.

W.G. BULLOCK

#### List of Lost Checks

|                                   |   |                |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|
| No. 17 Geo. W. Doast <sup>1</sup> | Capt. AAqm. infav. Capt. Henry W. Patterson on First Nat Bank | \$222.74       |
| 19 Geo W. Dost                    | Capt AAqm. to W.G. Bullock do                                 | 20.00          |
| 15 do do                          | John Miller 4 Inf do  | 98.35          |
| Coad & Bro. August 9 /69          | in fav W.G. Bullock on J.W. Ware                              | \$150.00       |
|                                   |   | <hr/> \$491.09 |

I will get duplicates from Capt. Doast for the checks drawn by him and Coad & Bro will settle his check with me. here.

WGB

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie Oct 22 /1869

Dear Sir

Your two favours of the 18th inst with stated enclosure came duly to hand by George. I return you W.C. Smith on John Phillips \$64.60 /100 as Phillips informs me he saw you on the subject and declines paying it. I sent for Mousseau and Wilson in regard to their two notes and they inform. . . . . as they get their money from Coad Bro. . . . . wood which will be in a few days; in regard to D. Appletons bill pay it when a package of books are delivered by express which I ordered to C.O. D. which please send by George or any package by express for Dr. F. Mecham. Please find for Mr. Wards credit.

Coad & Bro. Oct. 14 /1869 in my favour on P.S. Wilson \$650  
No. 17 Wilson & Cobb Oct. 19 " " do 27.00  
Six Hundred and Seventy-Seven Dollars. \$677.00

Can you furnish me with Eight Thousand Dollars Currency by the 15th next month as I want it to pay off the troops at the post. Please let me know by return mail as I have not that much and I will have to get it from Omaha.

Yours Truly

WG BULLOCK

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1. Bullock spells the name two different ways. Evidently it should be Dost.

Messrs J.A. Ware &amp; Co

Fort Laramie Oct. 29 /69

Omaha  
Gentlemen

I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour of with enclosed cert Dep. in favour of Charles Stewart for \$520. Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards Credit No. 48 George W. Doast Capt AA Q M in my favour on First Nat Bk. Omaha for \$341.09  
being for the amount of the lost cks.

In reference to John Richard Jr. the order is not for money in hand but for some collection you were to make in Washington City. I know nothing about the matter myself.

Yours Truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq.

Fort Laramie. Oct. 29, 1869

Cheyenne

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour and am much obliged to you for offer of the Currency I wrote for. But I received a letter from the Paymaster in which he has informed me that he will be obliged to go to Fetterman and he will pay himself therefore I will not want it. I have collected the two notes from Mousseau and Wilson for which I took the enclosed check from Coad & Bro for \$520. and the balance in cash. I herewith enclose statement which charge to Mr. Wards account. I enclose for Mr. Wards Credit. Coad & Bro in my favour on you for \$520

You have omitted to credit our account with a protested draft of Coad & Bro on Rogers which was afterwards paid for \$50

Yours Truly  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell &amp; Co.

Fort Laramie. Nov. 5, 1869

St. Louis

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure by the last mail of receiving your esteemed favour with bill of Muller and Wood Enclosed. Will you please do me the favour to remit to John Kerr. Aughnacloy. County Tyrone Ireland ( £ 8) Eight pounds sterling. please inform me the amount you pay in currency for the bill. The Indians paid us one of their Quaker visits a few days since. Killing two soldiers and stealing twenty head of stock.

Yours truly,  
WG BULLOCK

P.S. Wilson Esq.  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie. Nov. 5, 1869

Dear Sir

Your several favours came duly to hand by the last mail. I also received an envelope with an order from you to Mr. Clark to let Lt. Price have twenty dollars. I presume it was to collect. I presented it to Lt. Price who said it was all right but he did not pay it. I will hold it until next mail and if not paid will return it. Please find enclosed John Phillips<sup>1</sup> check in fav of C.E. Clay<sup>2</sup> on you for \$4,730. Phillips says he has not that amount with you but as soon as he can get his voucher for his hay he has delivered all the hay on his contract and would have been over with his voucher but Capt. Luhn the Qr Master left hunting the morning that Phillips delivered the last of the hay. He will return in three or four days and he will get the voucher and come over. My object<sup>t</sup> is get the amount of this draft or check in your hands.

Yours truly,

W G BULLOCK

P.S. Will you please credit Messrs Wilson & Cobb (\$280)  
Two hundred and Eighty Dollars and Charge S.E. Wards  
account.

W G BULLOCK

Do not protest Phillips Ck hold it until you collect the voucher.

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Nov. 5, 1869

Please find enclosed for Mr. Wards credit the following  
checks No. 9 Geo. O. Webster Lt. and Agt. 4th Inf. Oct. 30 /69  
in fav. W G Bullock in Omaha Nat. Bk. \$128  
Nov. 7 Omaha Nat. Bk. 30 /69 Chas Winkleman \$100  
Nov. 9 W.G. Bullock 138.00

.....

Will you please purchase for me and send by express two  
Bottles (quarts) French Violet Ink. I see it is advertised by some  
bookstore I believe the one on the cross street that passes by  
your office. Send to the care of Posey Wilson

W G BULLOCK

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1. John Phillips was called "Portugee" and is known for his historic ride from Ft. Phil Kearny to Ft. Laramie in 1866, in order to obtain aid to the beleaguered post, following the Fetterman Massacre. He handled a number of hay contracts for the government. In the 1870's he had a ranch on Chugwater.

2. Charley Clay was a clerk in the Sutler's store, Fort Laramie.

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie. Dec. 3d 1869  
St. Louis

Gentlemen:

I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour of the 25th ult. with stated enclosures. You inform me that you remitted to Mr. Henry Oltmans \$75 in ck on New York. I fear I have made a mistake in regard to the amount to be remitted to Mr. Oltmans—the amount to have been remitted to him was two hundred and fifty dollars. Will you please remit the balance—One hundred and seventy-five dollars and explain to him it was the error of your correspondent. I regret very much to be so troublesome and careless but it is almost impossible to write correctly in a room full of officers, *gassing* over their heroism in the late Civil War. Will you please remit to Mrs. Mary Hogan Care of O.C. Crocker Esq Binghampton Broom County, New York fifty dollars (\$50) from Denis Hogan Fort Laramie. The Indians are growing more bold and it is becoming dangerous to put our heads beyond the Sentinels of the Post. The Mail Party to Fort Fetterman was driven back yesterday after a running fight with the loss of one man and another wounded. And few days since a white citizen was killed a short distance from the Post.

I am expect daily to hear that all of our stock is run off by the Indians. Will you please send us at your early convenience 100 hundred gallons coal oil. I order in our requisition a small quantity as there was a General Order issued from the War Dept that Coal Oil should not be used at any of the Posts. But the order has proved a failure as the person who had a new patent lamp failed to get his lamp to burn with lard oil or did not pay enough to get his patent Lamp accepted. They have allowed coal oil to be burnt.

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie Dec. 3d 1869  
Omaha

Gentlemen

I have requested Posey S. Wilson of Cheyenne to remit you twenty three hundred Dollars for which I want a certificate Deposite in the name of William H. Dunlap at twelve months date bearing 6 pr ct. Interest. If you do not wish to do such business will you please do me the favour to get it from the 1st Nat Bank of your place. Our friend Mr. Lo<sup>1</sup> are getting very troublesome. We confine ourselves to the limits of the Post. The Fort Fetterman mail was driven back yesterday with the

---

1. Mr. Lo—the term used to designate the Indian.



loss of one man (mortally wounded) and another shot through the thigh with Arrow but will recover.

Yours truly,  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co.

Fort Laramie Dec. 3d, 1869

Omaha

Gentlemen

Please find enclosed S.E. Wards Check No. on you for two hundred and Seventy 60 /100 Dollars. to take up Ed L. Bailey note now about due at the Omaha Nat. Bank which please send to me.

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Stephens & Wilcox Fort Laramie. Jany 29, 1870

Omaha

Gentlemen

I received the enclosed bill from the office of the U.P.R.R. by the last mail. I am at a loss to know why this freight was stopped at Omaha as it was consigned as usual I presume as it was shipped by Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis who informed me it was shipped to the care of B.M. Heerman Cheyenne. Will you please pay the enclosed bill if necessary and forward the coal oil to S.F. Nuckolls Cheyenne as Mr. B.M. Heerman has left Cheyenne. I would prefer this bill collected at Cheyenne if the Company will allow. May I ask your early attention to this matter.

I am Very Respectfully  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Robert Campbell & Co

Fort Laramie Jany 21, 1870

St. Louis

Gentlemen

I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour enclosing bill of coal oil. The coal oil was stopped in Omaha and not forwarded as usual. I received a notice to that effect from the freight Agt. of the Union Pacific R.R. by yesterday mail informing me the freight was at his Depot (Omaha) and asking what disposition he should make of it. I wrote to Messrs Stephens & Wilcox Omaha to attend to forwarding it to Cheyenne. Please make the following remittance and charge to Mr. Wards account. To W.O. Fry Madison C.H. Virginia. Seventy-five dol-

lars from John Hunton. Please find enclosed for collection and Mr. Wards credit the following checks.

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| No. 113 Edward Yard Jr &c Dec. 30 /69 on Central Bk. N.Y.   |           |
| infv of Clara A. Price                                      | \$700     |
| 58644 1st Nat. Bk. Detroit Jany 5 /70 Mrs. Anna B. McKibben | \$440.08  |
| on Central National Bk. N.Y.                                | \$1140.08 |

\* \* \*

Messrs J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie Jany 21st, 1870  
Omaha

Gentlemen

Enclosed find for Mr. S.E. Wards credit the following checks.

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| No. 0726. Husser Dohler & Co. Salt Lake. Jany 6 /70   |          |
| E C OChenser  |          |
| ON First Nt. Bk. Omaha                                | \$200    |
| 53. Thos. F. Quinn AQM Mar 13 /69 Capt. Geo. Atcheson | 20.19    |
|   | <hr/>    |
|   | \$220.19 |

Also find enclosed two certificates Deposit in fav. Daniel Horgan which please calculate interest on both (as they were intended to draw interest but you omitted inserting on the smaller one) and send me a certificate for the total amt. in fav of Daniel Horgan at Six Months bearing 6% int.

Very Respectfully  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W G BULLOCK

|                     |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| No. 557. Dan Horgan | \$60.40  |
| 558 do              | 739.54   |
|                     | <hr/>    |
|                     | \$800.00 |

\* \* \*

Messrs. J.A. Ware & Co. Fort Laramie Jany 28, 1870  
Omaha  
Gentlemen

I had this pleasure this morning enclosing Ck on Depositary U.S. Chicago for \$3000. I herewith enclose S.E. Wards check on you for three hundred dollars for which please send me certificate deposite in favor William A. Kapp at 6 months bearing 6% interest. If you do not wish to do this please get Cet Dep. from Omaha Nat. Bank.

Very Respectfully  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W.G.BULLOCK

Messrs. Robert Campbell & Co. Fort Laramie Augt. 30th, 1870  
St. Louis  
Gentlemen

I had this pleasure on the 16th inst since which time I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. I have several times had the pleasure of hearing from your Mr. Robert Campbell en route to this place to meet the Indians. But he has not yet arrived and from a telegram to me this morning he will not reach here before the 8th proximo. Although I have advised his early arrival here; as the Indians when they here of his arrival will come in immediately, we anticipate much pleasure from his visit. Will you please remit to Mr. Hugh Broderick Drum Griffin Post Office, County Galway, Ireland (\$20) Twenty dollars in currency from his daughters Margaret and Nancy of Fort Laramie.

Yours Truly,  
W. G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Messrs Stephens & Wilcox  
Omaha

Gentlemen Fort Laramie Sept. 16, 1870

Will you please do me the favour to purchase the following articles and ship by railroad to care of S.F. Nuckolls Send bill by mail and I will remit.

- 1 Tea Tray for tea set on table about 19 inches by 15
- 1 " Waiter or tray small size for handing around
- 2 Glass Preserve Dishes with covers
- 4 W.G.<sup>1</sup> vegetable dishes without covers small size
- ½ Doz. Breakfast plates
- 1 Fruit or cake bowl
- 1 small molasses pitcher
- 1 spring balance scale.

The above articles are for a small family. Will you please get Mr. O.P. Ingalls to make me one pr. double sole boots for winter not too heavy. He has my measure.

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obt. Svt.  
W.G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq.  
Cheyenne

Fort Laramie. Sept. 21, 1870

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find for S E Wards Credit the following checks.

398 J.E. Burbank Sept. 9 /70 W.G. Bullock Asst. Ty. N.Y. \$15.00

---

1. Blurred.

|   |              |                 |
|---|--------------|-----------------|
| 266 C.A. Reynolds A Q M. Sept. 12 L.S. Tesson 1st Nat Bk. |              |                 |
|   | Omaha        | \$49.00         |
| 7 John J. O'Brien   | " 6 S E Ward | " 25.00         |
| 71 W. R. Gibson Pay M. 19 W.G. Bullock Asst Ty. N.Y.      |              | \$3500          |
|   |              | <hr/> \$3589.00 |

I also enclose an order from Wm J. Siders on Judge McLaughlin of your place for Forty three 55 /100 Dollars. The letter explains itself but Siders informs me that McLaughlin refuses to pay but a part of this money. I presume he wishes to keep it all as Siders is good and hard working man do what you can for him and Oblige

Your friend  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

B.B. Wood Esq. Fort Laramie, Sept. 21, 1870  
Cashier

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find Maj M.R. Gibson Paymaster Check No. 173 in my favour on Omaha Nat Bank for Sixteen Dollars for O.P. Ingalls on Maj. W.S. Collier received in your letter of 10th inst.

Very Respectfully  
Your Obt Svt  
W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson, Esq  
Cheyenne

Dear Sir

"I telegraphed you yesterday to advance F.M. Phillips to Mr. Iliff seventeen hundred dollars."

I now enclose you for Mr. Wards credit the following checks:

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| 167 I.W. Hugus Sept. 19 in fav S E Ward on 1st Nat Bk. |                    |
|  | Omaha for \$60.00  |
| John Richard Jr. Sept. 28 W.G. Bullock on              |                    |
|  | P.S. Wilson 200.00 |
| 72 W.R. Gibson Pay M. 19 W G Bullock Asst              |                    |
|  | Ty. N.Y. \$2000.00 |
|  | <hr/> \$2,260.00   |

Will you please call at the Express Office and send by George any packages for Capt. D.I. Ezekiel and also for Wm. Brown Sgt Co A U.S. Cavalry. Care Messrs Bullock & co and also any package for myself and bills if convenient.

Yours truly In Haste  
W.G. BULLOCK

Messrs Sanborn & King  
Washington City  
Gentlemen

Fort Laramie Oct 21, 1870

Please find enclosed the claims of David Smith and D. Eben Smith for loses by Indians which please receive and collect. Please send Mr. Smith a receipt for them through me. Should the claims be informal or require anything please inform me. If you would send me a few of your blanks I could get other claims. I also enclose you a claim of my own. I Paid a discharge soldier on his final statement papers two hundred and twenty five dollars more than was due him as you will perceive and the Pay Master Genl refuses to allow that amount paid to me from the circumstances I think I am justly entitled to the amount. The enclosed letters will inform you of the case.

Yours Respectfully,

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Genl B. Alvord  
Chief Pay Master  
Dept Platte

Fort Laramie Oct. 21, 1870

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter in regard to Final Statement papers of the Hospital Steward Cornelius and you please retain until you learn the cause of his discharge and send me check for the amount at your convenience.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Svt.

W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

B.B. Wood Esq Cash  
Omaha

Fort Laramie Oct. 21, 1870

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find W.R. Gibson paymaster Check in my favor on Omaha Nat Bank for \$666.00 to pay my interest in the land purchased which I think is due sometime about the 1st November. Also find for Collection and Mr. Wards credit Frederick Krug note due (without interest) in favor Frederick Llder for \$677.00 the enclosed card will inform you of the address of Frederick Krug I also enclose you in money fifteen 24 /100 Dollars which closes the balance due you and for the protection of our checks please accept my kind thanks Our business is so limited and Mr. Ward has been so unsettled in regard to his position that I have endeavoured to contract our business as much as possible Please inform me when the Cash instalment is due on the land

Yours truly

WG BULLOCK



Messrs Curry, Kirby & Cooper      Fort Laramie. Nov. 11, 1870  
 Jefferson City, Mo  
 Gentlemen

Your fav of 24th ult with draft of Lt. H.C. Sloan drawn on me in your favour for fifty dollars. Enclosed came to hand by yesterdays mail. Please find S E Wards check on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. for the amount (fifty dollars) Enclosed. You omitted to endorse Lt. Sloans draft. Please acknowledge receipt of the check herein enclosed.

Respectfully,  
 W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

Joseph Millard Esq. Cashier      Fort Laramie Nov. 11, 1870  
 Omaha  
 Dr Sir

Enclosed please find S E Wards check No. 654 In your favour for (\$441 75 /100) six hundred and sixty-four 75 /100 Dollars on Messrs Robert Campbell & Co. St. Louis to retire Lt. H.C. Sloans note or account which note or account you remit to me. As I am ignorant of the transaction myself this amount has been given me by Genl Flint.

Very Respectfully,  
 Your Obt. Svt.  
 W G BULLOCK

\* \* \*

P.S. Wilson Esq.      Fort Laramie Nov. 11, 1870  
 Cheyenne  
 Dear Sir:

Please find enclosed for S.E. Wards Credit the following checks.

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| B.B. Mills Nov. 10 in fav W.G. Bullock on P.S. Wilson    | \$259.45  |
| B.B. Mills Nov. 10 in fav W.G. Bullock      "            | 641.12    |
| 45 W.H. Powell Nov. 11      "      1st Nat. Bk. Omaha    | 8.80      |
| 19 John J. O'Brien AAQM. 7th Leopold Schnyder            |           |
| Post Mas Omaha   | 10.00     |
| 22 Geo. O. Webster 2n Lt. 4 Inf Oct. 13 Charles Stratten |           |
| Omaha Nat B  | 8.00      |
| 17 Geo. O. Webster 2nd Lt. 4 Inf. Oct. 13 Bernard        |           |
| O'Neil Omaha Nat Bk.                                     | \$36.00   |
| 18      "      "      "Joseph Baker"                     | 12.00     |
| 85 W.R. Gibson. P.M. Sept. 26 Maj W.S. Collier U.S.A.    |           |
| Asst. Ty. N.Y.   | 58.00     |
| One Thousand and thirty-three 38 /100 Dollars            | \$1033.38 |

Yours Truly  
 W G BULLOCK

Fort Laramie Wyoming Territory  
Nov. 9, 1870

(Very dim) (Not decipherable)

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie Dec. 30, 1870

Honl Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Sir

I have the honour of enclosing you an account which was made during the time the Indian Commission composed of Messrs Felix R. Brunot and Col. Robert Campbell was at this place. I forward the account by instructions of these gentlemen.

I have the honor to be

Very Respectfully

S E WARD

\* \* \*

Note: The next page of the journal is illegible. Has a heading .....Post Office. Wyo Terr. and is signed by "John Hunton P.M."

Four or five letters look like they were dated 1888.

Evidently John Hunton tried to use the French Ink copying process but had no luck.

And so end the letters of S.E. Ward and W.G. Bullock

A.W.S

\* \* \*

**The Following Papers and Letters Which Concern  
W. G. Bullock and Seth E. Ward are in the Files of the  
Wyoming Historical Department.**

Proceedings of a Council of Administration which convened at Fort Laramie D. T. pursuant to the following order, viz:

Head Quarters Fort Laramie D.T.  
Oct. 30th, 1866

General Order

Extract

No. 31

I. .... A Council of administration to consist of Capt. D. S. Gordon 2nd U. S. Cavalry, Bvt. Major U. S. A. Capt. W. P. McClery, 18th U. S. Inftry & 1st Lieut. H. B. Freeman 18 U. S. Inftry & Bvt. Capt. U. S. A. Will convene at 2 P.M. on the 31st inst. or as soon thereafter as practicable for the purpose of taxing the Sutler and transacting such other business as may properly be brought before it. By order of Major Van Voast.

Sigd. J. KEYES HYER

1st Lieut. 18th Infy. & Post Adjt.  
Fort Laramie D. T.

The Council met pursuant to the above order. Present. All the Members, and resolved to tax the Post Sutler 10c per average number of Officers and Enlisted men at the Post for Sept. & Oct. 1866. Average number of Officers and Enlisted men during the month of Sept. 366 at 10c per man gives \$36.60 Average number of Officers & Enlisted men for the month of Oct. 313 at 10c per man gives \$31.30 total tax. . . . . \$67.90.

X X X      XXX

(Signed) D. S. GORDON,  
Capt. 2nd U.S. Cavalry  
Bvt. Major U.S.A.

For Reverse of Document See next page.

(Signed) W. P. McCLEERY  
Capt. 18th U.S. Infy.

(Signed) H. B. Freeman  
Bvt. Capt. U.S.A.  
1st Lieut. 18th U. S. Infy  
Recorder

Approved  
(Signed) James Van Voast  
Major 18th U.S. Infy.  
Comd'g.

True copy from Proceedings of Council of Administration.

W. S. STARRING  
1st Lieut. 18th Infy.  
Post Adjt.

Received of Q. Bullock, Esq. (\$67.90) Sixty Seven Dollars and Ninety Cents. Amt. of tax imposed upon Post Sutler for the months of Sept. & October 1866, by Council of Administration at Fort Laramie D.T. October 30, 1866.

W. S. STARRING  
1st Lieut. 18th Infy.  
Post Treasurer.

Fort Laramie D.T.  
Dec. 8th, 1866

This agreement made at Fort Laramie July 21st 1859, between S. E. Ward and Charles Harvey, Witnesseth, The said Charles Harvey agrees to cut, cure and stack Fifty Tons Hay for the said S.E. Ward on the following terms: The said S.E. Ward agrees to pay the said Harvey Five Dollars per Ton, as follows Two Thirds to be paid during the progress or after the cutting of the hay. The balance (one Third) to be reserved until the Hay is delivered and weighed on the Government Scales at Fort Laramie; The said Harvey binds himself to cure

in good order, and stack the Hay on the ground, and have it in good order to deliver by the 1st October 1859, the said Ward agrees to furnish the said Harvey with several Yoke Oxen 2 Scythes & snath's 2 Rakes 2 Forks 2 Whet Stones and 1 Grind Stone to cut and save the Hay, which are to be returned in good order by the 1st October

S. E. WARD (Seal)

P C HARVEY

Witness

W. G. BULLOCK

\* \* \*

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR

To Whom it may concern:

KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, fidelity, and abilities of Seth E. Ward I do hereby constitute and appoint him SUTLER to Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory in the service of the United States, with all the privileges and immunities appertaining to said situation. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of Sutler, in conformity with the Rules established for the Government of the Armies of the United States; and he is to be subject to such laws and regulations having reference to Sutlers, as now are or, hereafter may be, established. THIS WARRANT to continue in force; and to be valid until the fourth day of March in the year one thousand eight hundred and Sixty.....unless sooner revoked by competent authority.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of April, 1857.

JOHN B. FLOYD.

Secretary of War.

Registered in the Adjutant General's Office. S. Cooper. Adt. G

\* \* \*

Benjamin B. Mills having made application to me for License to trade for One year with the Camanche, Kiowa & Appacha Indians at the Big Timbers & Paunee Forts on the Arkansas River, and with the Cheyennes & Arapahoes on the South Platt & Republican Fork and haveing executed and filed his Bond for a faithful observance of the "Intercourse Laws" I hereby grant him permission to trade at the points specified untill the said Bond may be approved or disapproved of by the department at Washington.

ROBT. C. MILLER

Ind Agent

West Port Mo.

December 7th, 1856.

Endorsed on back: Agent Millers permit to trade in the Arkansas Agency.

# HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE.

Omaha, Neb. August 2d, 1867

Special Orders )

No. 140 )

(Extract)

1. Under the Resolution of Congress, approved March 30, 1867, and by authority of the General Commanding the Army of the United States, the following-named persons are appointed traders at the posts specified opposite their respective names:

Mr, S.E. Ward, Fort Laramie, D.T.

\* \* \*

By Command of Brevet Major General Augur,

H. G. LITCHFIELD

B'vt. Lieut. Colonel,

Act'g. Assistant Adjutant  
General

Official:

William H. Bixbee

Captain 27th Inf'ty Aide-de-Camp.

Written across bottom of page in red ink:

S.E. Ward,

Fort Laramie, D. T.

Endorsed on back: Received Aug. 18th /67

\* \* \*

Whetstone Agency D T

May 10th, 1871

Col. Wm. Bullock

Fort Laramie U.T.

Colonel:

Your dispatch of the 6th just at hand. Maj. Twiss' woman is and has been here for about a month, her children are, however, all below at Rulo, Nebraska. The Agent, Major Washburne, has already sent for them to come here, this about two weeks ago and they are expected daily. She, the Mother, desires to move with this outfit to the White Earth River, which is about 150 miles from your post. From that point I will advise you if she desires to go over to her relations. The Indians here have selected the White Earth River for their new Agency, which is within the bounds of their own Reservation.

Your previous communication was duly received some time since. I was very glad indeed to hear from you as also to



know that Pete & Joe had arrived safely. We are all prepared and ready to start, the Agent is only waiting for authority to provide for the necessary transportation other than that of his own. I wrote to Mr. Ward some time ago—in fact the letter was for you both—have had no answer—possibly it may have miscarried. No news of importance.

With much respect.

Your friend

JOSEPH BISSONETTE.

Endorsed on back:

Joseph Bissonette

May 10, 1871.

\* \* \*

1. THOMAS S. TWISS, was born in So. Carolina and admitted to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, as a Cadet from South Carolina and was graduated from that institution; was commissioned a second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army, served, and was advanced to the rank of Major. He resigned from the U.S. Army and was appointed United States Indian Agent at the Upper Platte Agency (Deer Creek, Wyoming.) His commission as Agent expired with Buchanan's Administration. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Major Twiss offered his services to President Lincoln but they were declined because of his age. It is said that Major Twiss had several Indian wives and that he passed his life in the hills north of Fort Laramie—no one knew just where. Captain Eugene E. Ware who was Post Adjutant at Fort Laramie in 1864 describes Major Twiss "as an old gentleman whose hair, long, white and curly, hung down over his shoulders, and down his back. He had a very venerable white beard and moustache. His beard had been trimmed with scissors so that it was rather long, but pointed, Van Dyke fashion, below the chin. He was dressed thoroughly as an Indian. He wore nothing on his head and had a pair of beaded moccasins. He sat on one of the benches in front of the Sutler store, having in his hand a cane, staff fashion, about six feet long. On this occasion he was accompanied by several squaws very finely dressed in macinaw blankets.".... Annals of Wyo. Vol. 7 No. 3, p. 424-5

\* \* \*

Fort Laramie

August 21, 1865

(A letter to Col. W.O. Collins)

.....Telegraph line was cut as fast as it was replaced and some days elapsed before communication was fully restored....Caspar's remains had been buried at Platte Bridge. Affairs in this country have sadly changed since you left here,

and all the Indians have been *forced* to resort to hostilities for self-preservation. All of our friendly Indians have been driven off and those who rarely visited the Post have not been allowed to come in to make offerings of peace.

Caspar left here about the 21st of July (having come here for a fresh supply of horses) for Sweetwater Bridge where all of his company had been recently stationed. He left here with reluctance, he said on leaving that we would not see him any more as he felt as if he would be killed by the Indians if he went back. He arrived at Platte Bridge about the time the Indians made the attack at the Bridge. Major Anderson, 11th Kansas, with the officers of two or three companies of the same regt. was stationed at the Bridge together with Lieut. Bretney with a small squadron of his company. The train that had taken up Lt. Bretney and His Company supplies was returning from Sweetwater Bridge. When about two or three miles from the Platte Bridge the train was attacked by Indians, the firing being distinctly heard at the Bridge, and the Indians showing themselves all around on both sides of the Bridge. Your lamented son was selected to lead twenty Kansas soldiers to go to the protection of the train (several Kansas officers being at the station) large bodies of Indians showing themselves between the bridge and the train. Caspar bravely led them forward, when about  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Bridge he was surrounded by several hundred Indians where he fell bravely attempting to cut his way through to the train and the Kansas soldiers ignominiously fled back to the station, the Indians pursuing them to the station. He fell a victim to the infamous cowardice of the officers of the 11th. Kansas. The paragraph cut from the newspaper does not exaggerate the treatment his body received from the hands of these savages. All of the soldiers and teamsters at the train were killed but three, in all twenty-six killed in sight of the garrison of 250 men and one piece of artillery. The lamented death of your son although so young is one which all brave and honourable men can but admire no matter how distressing it is to his relatives and friends. The only two Indians positively known to be killed in this fight fell by his hand by shots fired from his pistol. Lt. Bretney who has charge of everything left by your son has been here and left again for Sweetwater to bring the company to this post and has promised to turn over all his effects on his return.

In regard to Caspar acct. with me I would not have referred to it had you not spoke of it in your letter. He owed me quite a large account, amounting to \$1,4807 but he has drawn no pay for about nine months.

I will assist you in any way in removing his remains to their final resting place in Ohio. But think they had better remain where they are until autumn or cooler weather and just

at this time the country cannot be travelled over without a strong escort. You will please present my kind regards to Mrs. Collins and believe me,

Very respectfully,  
Your obedient svt.  
W. G. BULLOCK

(Collins had labeled this letter: "A Gentleman long resident in the mountains but not in the service.")

## A P P E N D I X

### THE COMPILED LAWS OF WYOMING. 1876.

#### SIOUX TREATY

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND DIFFERENT TRIBES OF SIOUX INDIANS: CONCLUDED APRIL 29 ET SEQ., 1868: RATIFICATION ADVISED FEBRUARY 16, 1869; PROCLAIMED FEBRUARY 24, 1869.

Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America; to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: WHEREAS, A treaty was made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Territory of Dakota, (now in the Territory of Wyoming,) on the twenty-ninth day of April, and afterwards, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between Nathaniel G. Taylor, William T. Sherman, William S. Harney, John B. Sanborn, S. F. Tappan, C. C. Augur, and Alfred H. Terry, commissioners, on the part of the United States, and Ma-Za-pon-kas-ka, Tah-shun-ka-co-qui-pah, Heh-won-ge-chat, Mah-to-non-pah, Little Chief, Makh-pi-ah-lu-tah, Co-cam-i-ya-ya, Con-te-pe-ta, Ma-wa-tau-ni-hav-ska, He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca, Wah-pah-shaw, and other chiefs and headmen of different tribes of Sioux Indians, on the part of said Indians, and duly authorized thereto, by them, which treaty is in the words and figures following, to-wit:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded by and between Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General C. C. Augur, J. B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John B. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and headmen, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

#### SIOUX TREATY—1868

Article 1. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby

pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the commissioner of Indian affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named, solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they wilfully refuse to do so, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article, as, in his judgement, may be proper. But no one sustaining lossess while violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be reimbursed therefor.

Article II. The United States agrees that the following district<sup>1</sup> of country, to-wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri river where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska, to the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto all existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents and employes of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon or reside in the territory



described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claim or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as herein-after provided.

Article III. If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than one hundred and sixty acres of tillable land for each person, who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

Article IV. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at some place on the Missouri River, near the center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to-wit: a warehouse, a storeroom for the use of the agent in storing goods for the use of the Indians, to cost not less than twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school house or mission building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular saw-mill, with a grist-mill and shingle machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

ARTICLE V. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in future make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property, he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the



Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

ARTICLE VI. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence, and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book", as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may, in like manner, select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same, as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected, a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Sioux Land Book."

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indians over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is, or shall hereafter become, a resident or occupant of any reservation or territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the form of the legal subdivisions of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land office when the said land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered

is not in any land district, then, upon said application and proof being made to the commissioner of the general land office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements, and no longer. And any Indian receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions, shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

ARTICLE VII. In order to insure the civilization of the Indian entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are, or may be, settled on such agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article are to continue for not less than twenty years.

ARTICLE VIII. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel and other material as may be needed.

ARTICLE IX. At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum

shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

ARTICLE X. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house on the reservation herein named, the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to-wit:

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commission of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, while such persons roam and hunt, and twenty dollars for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the thirty years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quality and quantity of the goods and the manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to, and settled permanently upon, said reservation; and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound

of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good well-broken pair of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

ARTICLE XI. In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation as herein defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such manner as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

First—That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains;

Second—That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined;

Third—That they will not attack any persons at home, or traveling, nor molest or disturb any wagon trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith;

Fourth—They will never capture, or carry off from the settlement, white women or children;

Fifth—They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm;

Sixth—They withdraw all pretense of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean, and they will not in future object to the construction of railroads, wagon roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity, which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or headman of the tribe;

Seventh—They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts on roads now established south of the North Platte River, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes;



ARTICLE XII. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him, as provided in Article VI of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIII. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians, the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer and blacksmiths, as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as well as sufficient to employ such persons.

ARTICLE XIV. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe, who, in the judgment of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

ARTICLE XV. The Indians herein named agree that, when the agency house and other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article XI hereof.

ARTICLE XVI. The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and conceded to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians; first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States, that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux nation, the military posts now established in the territory, in this article named, shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

ARTICLE XVII. It is hereby expressly understood and agreed, by and between the respective parties to this treaty, that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of pro-



perty to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no further.

In testimony of all which, we the said commissioners, and we, the chiefs and headmen of the Brule band of the Sioux nation, have hereunto set out hands and seals at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, this twenty-ninth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

N. G. Taylor, (Seal)  
 W. T. Sherman (Seal)  
 Lt. Genl.  
 Wm. S. Harney (Seal)  
 Bvt. Maj. Gen. U.S.A.  
 John B. Sanborn (Seal)  
 S. F. Tappan, (Seal)  
 C. C. Augur (Seal)  
 Bvt. Maj. Gen.  
 Alfred H. Terry (Seal)  
 Bvt. M. Gen. U.S.A.

Attest:

A.S.H. White, Secretary.

Executed on the part of the Brule band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto annexed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, D.T., the twenty-ninth day of April, in the year A.D. 1868.

Ma-za-pon-kaska, his x mark, Iron Shell (Seal)  
 Wah-Pat-Shah, his x mark, Red Leaf. (Seal)

And twenty-three others.

Attest:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Ashton S. H. White, Sec'y<br>of Com'n. | Geo. B. Withs, Phonographer<br>to Com'n. |
| George H. Holtzman,                    | John D. Howland                          |
| James C. O'Connor,                     | Chas. E. Guern, Interpreter              |
| Leon F. Pallardy, Interpreter          | Nicholas Janis, Interpreter              |

Executed on the part of the Ogallala band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year A.D., 1868.

Tah-Shun-Ka-Co-Qui-Pah, his x mark, Man-Afraid-of-his-horses. (Seal)

Sha-Ton-Skah, his x mark, White Hawk. (Seal)

And thirty-seven others.

Attest:

S. E. Ward

J. M. Sherwood

Sam Deon

Joseph Bissonette, Interpreter

Lefroy Jott, Interpreter

Jas. C. O'Connor

W. C. Slicer

H. M. Matthews

Nicholas Janis, Interpreter

Antoine Janis, Interpreter

Executed on the part of the Minneconjou band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

At Fort Laramie, D. T. ) Heh-Won-Ge-Chat, his x mark(Seal)

May 26, '68, 13 names ) One Horn.

Oh-Pon-Ah-Tah-Fe-Manne, his x  
mark, The Elk that bellows,  
Walking. (Seal)

And fifteen others.

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor

Nicholas Janis, Interpreter

Wm. H. Brown

Antoine Janis, Interpreter.

## ARMY LIFE ON THE WYOMING FRONTIER

Interview brings description of life at the military outposts, from a woman's experiences

By Alice Mathews Shields\*

Edward A. Matthews and Rachel (Lobach) Brown Matthews, his wife, had each passed the third quarter century milestone when they were engaged in this interview and allowed their minds to drift back to years when the earlier history of the United States was in the making. Sometimes these retrospections recalled events of carefree and beautiful days, and again there were vivid memories of excitement and of danger. They had lived through the epoch-making years when the white man took for his own, by conquest, the last frontier country, once known as the Great American Desert.

Mrs. Matthews, daughter of Rebecca Ann (Dewey) Lobach and Joseph A. Lobach, was born October 13, 1858, in the town of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, thirty miles from Harrisburg. The first five years of her life were the battle blemished years of the Civil War, and were a fitting prelude to her future. Her father's death occurred in 1863 and the subsequent efforts of her mother to make a living for her family, served to impress the stress of those years on the child's mind. Shortly after Rachel's father died, her grandmother and two aunts came to make their home with the widowed mother and her two small daughters.

Mrs. Matthews, small, quick in mind and in movement, and with a contagious laugh, said her earliest recollection of the Civil War was the invasion by the Confederate soldiers of the town of Carlisle where Union barracks were located.

" 'The gray coats are coming!' was heard all through the streets. There were not many men left in town as most of them were away at war. My mother called Rebecca Ann, my sister, and me and hid us between two feather beds. But the soldiers did not come to the house, so we breathed easier, and after a while we all went down to the tannery and watched the rebels burning the railroad bridge and the fort bridge. They also captured the garrison. We were badly frightened but were not harmed."

She told of watching her grandmother when she made candles for the family's use. "She twisted a linen cloth and dipped it into melted tallow until it was saturated and would stand in a saucer ready to be lighted. It was a very good substitute for a real candle. Grandmother also washed, dyed, and spun wool, and then wove it into blankets and wearing apparel."

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\*This is the third article on Wyoming pioneers by Mrs. Shields which has been published in the ANNALS OF WYOMING this year. A biographical sketch of the author appears in the January number, 1941, at page 58.

### Rachel Accompanies Family to the West

After a few years Rachel's mother was married to Addison J. House, noncommissioned officer of the Union Army, a first sergeant in I Company of the Second Cavalry. In the year 1865 the Second Cavalry received army orders to move to Fort McPherson, Nebraska.

The Company left Pennsylvania in January and traveled by train to Hastings, Nebraska. Mrs. Matthews said that she, then seven years old, and her sister, a few years older, did not mind the stiff backed seats and the poorly ventilated coaches of the early type railroad train. There were no dining cars so they carried their lunch baskets. The Company reached Hastings, a little railroad station of about eight buildings, early one winter morning. Without hesitation she quickly recalled the style of the ladies' dress as they stepped from the train into the prairie sunlight. "The ladies wore long skirts that touched the ground, and they had bustles and puffed sleeves, and short basques which made them look plump and full figured. Their bright shawls made them look very pretty. The wind blew hard, and caused them to reach for their bonnets, and it twirled their full skirts so we could see their high buttoned shoes. We girls wore Scotch plaid dresses made with gored shirts and short jackets buttoned in the back. We had red topped boots made of cowhide and trimmed with brass tips. Mother had knitted our black wool stockings, and grandmother had spun and dyed the wool. Our little flat hats were covered with small flowers. We all wore red flannel underwear, of course.

"An army ambulance was waiting for us, and some of the officers' wives, Mother, and we girls were put into the conveyance and driven to Fort McPherson. The soldiers mounted their horses, which had been shipped that far, and rode out to the fort.

"The barracks and the quarters at the fort were built of logs, and a rail fence enclosed the little military post which sat out on the open plains as a protection for the caravans of immigrants as they traveled west.

"We saw many Indians. They lived in their tepee lodges right next to the fort. We were quite a curiosity to them. Often they would peer through our windows, their faces framed by their hands, and watched us until they got tired. 'Nice squaw, nice hair,' they would say as they watched me. I, my mother often said when she brushed and platted my two thick braids, was blessed with a heavy head of hair. Our step-father, Sergeant House, warned us children not to go out of the barracks. He was afraid the Indians might carry us off.

"In the spring, 1866, six months after we arrived at Fort McPherson, we received orders to go to Fort Omaha but on

account of the June rise of the Platte River, we were forced to delay the journey until the water receded.

"Eventually, the women and children were put in the ambulance and driven to Hastings where we took the train to Omaha. The soldiers rode their horses the full distance. Sergeant House was with the cavalry ahead of our ambulance and we had a guide to lead the procession. The Platte River was still swollen when we reached there, but the officers thought the bridge was safe, so the guide on horse back went ahead and our mule teams followed him; mules will always follow a horse. They kept so close to the guide's mount that they almost put us in the river. When the horse stepped to the right side of the bridge, which was without a railing, our mules tried to follow him. My sister and I were sitting in the seat with the driver and of course we had to scream and hide our faces. The driver scolded us, 'You will scare the mules,' he said. Safely over the bridge we had to plough through a long stretch of deep mud and water before we reached dry land. Our step-father was waiting and watching our ambulance. He said that he feared every minute we would be thrown into the river.

"When we reached Omaha we had to cross the Missouri River on a ferry, and I remember the rain poured on us until we reached Fort Omaha."

After one year's time at Fort Omaha, the Second Cavalry was transferred to Fort Sanders, Wyoming. Fort Sanders was established by the war department in 1866 and was located a few miles out of the town of Laramie in Albany County.

### **Family Arrives on First Train into Fort Sanders**

"We traveled on the Union Pacific railroad, and ours was the first train to go into Fort Sanders," Mrs. Matthews revealed.

"Sergeant House received transportation for Mother, Rebecca, and for himself, but I was overlooked. When the time came for the conductor to take up the tickets the sergeant threw a buffalo robe over me so that I would not be noticed. I was not very large so I don't suppose that I would have been noticed anyway, but we had a good laugh on account of the incident.

"We could not get quarters when we first went to Fort Sanders so we, with two other families, lived in a Government office building until our quarters were built. The Fourth Infantry F Company under command of General Potter, the Fourteenth Infantry F Company under command of General Powell, the Third Cavalry E Company under the command of General Bracket, as well as our division, the Second Cavalry I Company under Major Noyes, were there. General Palmer was the Commander of the Post.



"The noncommissioned officers' quarters were one story log houses built around a circle. The officers' quarters were set off to the left, and the parade ground was in the center. The stables were back of the laundresses' quarters and a rail fence enclosed the whole military post. The post received its water supply from a lake back of the officers' houses. There was also a mountains stream flowing through the garrison which furnished water for the animals.

"No, I never witnessed an Indian attack, but practically was reared on stories of such attacks which took place quite often."

She then recalled the case of the Metz family who were traveling on the road from Laramie City to the Black Hills Country where gold had recently been discovered in such great quantities, that at this writing, it is still being dug from the earth. The Metz family had planned to open a bakery shop in the Hills. "They were just about half way across the prairie country when the Indians attacked them. The family were scalped and murdered and their wagon and possessions were burned. After a public funeral service held in the street in front of the Eberhart's Bakery in Laramie City the bodies were buried in one grave in the Laramie City cemetery."

In the year 1867 when the Union Pacific railroad Company was building its road west beyond the summit of the Rocky Mountains, General Palmer ordered the Second Cavalry to Medicine Bow, Wyoming, railroad station located about fifty miles north and west of Laramie City and near Como Bluff (location of the famed dinosaur graveyard, one of the most renowned fossil beds, discovered in 1867) to protect the workers from the relentless war which was being waged all along the line by the tribes of the plains.

"We went by train," Mrs. Matthews stated, "and the Cavalry marched their horses the fifty miles. The little settlement sat high on the prairie and consisted of five houses, one saloon and a gambling house, the railroad section house, and one grocery store. The store was owned by Gust Trabing, who also freighted between Medicine Bow and Fort Fetterman. Fetterman had been established that same year, and was named in honor of Colonel Fetterman who, with ninety others was massacred when Old Fort Phil Kearney, fifteen miles north of Buffalo, Wyoming, was destroyed by the Indians in 1866." Fetterman, built on a high picturesque point, high above the North Platte River was located about half way between Douglas and Glenrock, Wyoming, on the Black Hills Wagon Road.

"Shortly after our arrival at Medicine Bow General Crook, with his expedition, came through. My stepfather, with a detachment of cavalymen, left to escort the General and his command across the country to Fort Fetterman. Captain Noyes and Lieutenants Hall and Kingsly stayed at Medicine Bow to

protect the settlement. We saw many Indians around the Post but we were not attacked.

"The section 'boss', Mr. Lang, and his wife, had two sons and two daughters. Liza Lang, one of the girls, and I played together, and it was our custom to go down to the Medicine Bow River, about a mile from the Post, to wade. One day we were enjoying the water to our heart's content when we looked up and saw three big Indians standing on the bank watching us. They were in full feathers and blankets and had their long hair in braids. We were so scared that we were not able to move out of our tracks. The Indians did not attempt to come near us but waved their hands and yelled 'Wa ho, wa ho!' When they finally moved away from the river bank we clambered up the other side and ran the full mile to the Post. We didn't go to the river to wade, again, very soon.

"Gust Trabing and his wife had no children of their own but I was in their grocery store the day a little girl walked into their lives. She came in with her father, a miner who also owned a potato field down near old Carbon. They had driven up to the store on a load of potatoes. He had her by the hand; she was about eight or nine years old, 'Howdy!' he said to Mr. Trabing. 'Have you any children?' he asked. When Mr. Trabing told him that he had none, he said, 'I'll trade you this girl for a sack of flour. My wife died and left me with seven.' Gust Trabing thought that the man was joking at first, but when he found that he was in earnest, he called Mrs. Trabing and they agreed to the trade. The man took his sack of flour, threw it on top of his load of potatoes, and drove on down the road. The little girl, blond, and not unlike the Trabings, stood with her hand shading her eyes, and watched him out of sight. She did not cry and she never uttered a word. I couldn't understand the actions of any of them. The Trabings were very good to the little girl, and when she was old enough to go to school they moved to Laramie City and gave her a good education. They named her Mable. She became a grand singer, and sang fifty years ago at the Tabor Opera House (of Silver Dollar fame) in Denver. Mable married one of the Swan boys of the Swan Live Stock Company. They parted years later, and she kept on with her singing for several years. Her death occurred not many months ago. The Swan home stood on the present site of the Penney Dry Goods store in Cheyenne."

The Second Cavalry was returned to Fort Sanders in the year of 1868, and again, in 1874 was transferred back to Medicine Bow. It was in the last mentioned year that Sergeant House received his final discharge from the Army. He had spent ten years on the Wyoming frontier, and had engaged in many battles of the Civil War. Twenty-seven different engagements are listed on his discharge papers. After he left the

Army he, with his family, moved to Laramie City, where the United States Marshal made him turnkey for the State Penitentiary—then in Laramie City. He remained in that position until his retirement at the age of sixty-nine. He was Captain of the Grand Army of the Republic in Laramie City until his death.

### **Rachel Lobach and Henry F. Brown Wed at Fort Sanders**

Rachel Lobach's first marriage was to Henry F. Brown of F Company Fourth Infantry in 1874. The marriage ceremony took place in the Company's library at Fort Sanders. After the birth of their first child, Henry, they were transferred to the Red Cloud Indian Agency just over the Wyoming-Nebraska line. The Sioux, Arapahoe, Cheyenne, and Snake Indians lived at the Agency in their tepee villages, and the soldiers were stationed there to keep peace and order.

"When we arrived at Red Cloud," said the young mother of sixty-one years ago, "Chief Sitting Bull was being tried at the Agency for causing trouble between the Indians and the white settlers. The Pawnees stood around on the outside listening and watching."

No doubt the attitude of the Indians, soon to be on the most terrible of all their war paths, was none too friendly, and the white women—there were only four of them at the Agency—were apprehensive of the unrest amongst the warriors.

"We did not have quarters, so had to live at the barracks in log cabins. There was a creek a short distance from the cabins where we had to go for our water supply. We often saw the Indians riding along the bank on their ponies. One day I was at the creek filling my bucket with fresh water when one of the bucks got off his pony and came over to where I stood dipping up water. Afraid to run, I dropped my bucket and stood there. He talked a little, very poor English, but I understood what he was saying. He made many different offers to get me to go away with him. I kept answering "Yes, yes, and no, no." Finally, he left me.

"Bright and early the next morning he appeared at our cabin carrying gifts for my husband to be given him in exchange for me. He had a pony, a saddle, beads, buffalo robe, blankets, moccasins, and what not, which he offered to my husband who, in good old fashioned Army language let him know that he had better make tracks. He said, 'We have to fight you to keep you from killing the settlers and now you want my wife!—you! Get out out of here, or I'll shoot your—head off! The brave, dropping his valuables, ran as if he thought the whole Army was after him.

"Yes, there were a number of squaws and children living in the tepee villages. There was a squaw known as Cheyenne

Fannie who used to come to my cabin to help me with the washing. One day I was hanging the clothes on the line when I noticed Fannie running out of the yard with something under her shawl. I watched her and soon discovered that she had my six-months-old baby. I ran after her screaming, 'Give me my papoose!' She stopped and grunted something and handed the baby to me. The Indians were natural thieves. Cheyenne Fannie spent a great deal of time around my house. I tried to persuade her to talk, but seldom was successful. I would say, 'Fannie, I'm not going to let you work for me any more, if you don't talk. Why don't you talk?' All that I got in return was a grunt and a shake of her head. I never saw her laugh.

'Frequently we went over to the Indian villages to watch them put on their dances. They set their little ones on the ground and then danced around them in a circle while shouting their whoops.

'The Indian women made their own clothing as well as their men's clothes. Their dresses were made after the style of a pillow slip left open on both ends. Shoulder straps held the dress snugly against the arm pits. The men's pants were made of hide which were sewed with rawhide, and were fitted to reach the chest and held up with shoulder straps. Both men and women wore great shawls, wrapped around their shoulders.

'In June, 1876, word came through by courier that General Custer and his command were being annihilated by the Northern Indians in the Little Big Horn country. The Fourth Infantry F Company was ordered to go to Custer's aid at once. We stayed on at Red Cloud for a while, or until it was learned that the reinforcements had been too late to be of any assistance to Custer. We were then called to Fort Bridger in the extreme western and southern part of Wyoming, where the Fourth Infantry F Company had been sent from the scene of Custer's battle. We women went by train as far as Carter Station in south west Wyoming. There were three officers' wives and myself, and my baby. When we got off the train at Carter we finished the trip by stage coach.

'My baby, Henry, was just seven months old, and I was very young, just seventeen, and I was so afraid! Custer's massacre had given the Indians a lot of courage and they were wild with hate after their victory over the American soldiers. I was mortally afraid of an Indian attack when we crossed the prairie and the mountain trails. When we neared a stage station, I fully expected to be murdered or carried away. The officers' wives were very kind in helping me with the baby. They saw that I was sick with fear and frequently offered to take care of him. I was relieved when they took him for I thought that they could protect him better than I. We were twenty-four



hours on the road between Carter station and Fort Bridger. We stopped at a stage station for the night and then continued on our way in the morning.

"Fort Bridger was a pretty little place set in the mountains on the Black Fork of the Green River. It was named for Jim Bridger, noted trapper and guide, who had opened a trading post there in 1843. The buildings were of rough native logs, as were all of the military posts in Wyoming. There was a little park where we went for recreation back of the houses, and a mountain stream ran through the post.

"My husband had reached Bridger before I arrived but there were no quarters for us, so I stayed at the home of Kels Nickell and his wife. It was their son, Willie Nickell, born years later, who was shot by Tom Horn at their Iron Mountain ranch in 1901.

"Later we moved to our quarters just across the street from the little park. It was at Fort Bridger that I came to know Calamity Jane (Western character). She often came to my house and asked to take the baby over to the park. She loved him and was very kind to him. Although she was known all through the West and there are many stories about her, I knew her only as a kind-natured woman. She was about twenty-five at that time, tall, dark, and just fairly good looking. She was rough, I suppose, but she had a good heart.

"Wild game, especially deer and antelope, was plentiful when we lived there. Buffalo roamed the plains, also; great herds of hundreds of head often grazed near the fort."

Henry Brown received his discharge from the Army while at Fort Bridger and the family moved to Laramie City to live. As time went on, three more children were born to them, Joseph, Florence Ann, (Mrs. John Willis) and Walter Gurney.

### **Family Moves to Laramie, Tent City**

Mrs. Matthews explained that Laramie was a tent city the first time she visited there, and that Front Street was the town. She said, "Mr. Iverson came to Laramie from England just a short time before I went there to live. He built the first bank building and lived upstairs over the bank. He also owned a grocery store and a hardware store. William Myers, who later became Cheyenne's first dry goods merchant, had a dry goods store in Laramie on Second and Garfield. Molly Ingersoll, one of the widest known dressmakers in the region, had a shop over A. T. Williams' bakery and I used to sew for her. The dressmaker was a very important person in those years because there were no ready-made clothes for women. We made many Dolly Vardin dresses—full skirts over hoops—and leg o'mutton sleeves. Also, we made made wrappers of delaine, a warm part-wool material.



"Henry Brown became connected with the business of transporting water to the townspeople. The Laramie River furnished the supply and he delivered it through the town at twenty cents a barrel. Each home had a barrel sunk in the ground in the back yard for use as a water tank. Some of the families and most of the business places had water piped in from the river. The town built up rapidly, and soon there were three hotels, the Thornberg, the Custer, and the Frontier. Bill Nye (famed humorist) owned the first newspaper, the Boomerang, and his office was upstairs over the livery barn."

Some other firsts which Mrs. Matthews mentioned were: Luther Filmore, first Union Pacific shop superintendent, and his assistant, William Campbell. Billy Mills, Billy Phelps, and Charlie Phelps were among the first Union Pacific conductors. The engineers were Johnny Hill, Billy Jodgeman, Tom McHugh, and Dan Breece, father of Brigadier General Breece. The first sheriff of Albany County was Mr. Boswell, and the first city marshal, Larry Fee. Mrs. John Coble, then Miss Tauson, taught school at the Bosler ranch about twenty miles north of Laramie City. She mentioned that her family knew John Coble in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Miss Hattie Reals was the first telephone operator. She later became Mrs. John N. Marks of Cheyenne.

Mrs. Matthews said the first doctors in Laramie were: Doctors William Harris, Bristol, Stevens, Dieset, Haley, Foster and Horn; that the first church buildings to appear in Laramie were: Baptist, Catholic, Danish Luthern, Swedish Luthern and Presbyterian. The Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Arnold, was the father of Conway Arnold, Laramie attorney.

She called to mind the immigrant trains of prairie schooners. "The schooners were drawn by oxen, mules, or horses, and carried all of the imigrant's possessions. They passed through Laramie in a long and endless chain, slowly and almost daily, as they toiled along over the Overland Trail on their way to Salt Lake City and other points farther west. Many of the travelers were the Mormons going through to Utah. We were always hopeful of seeing our mother's only brother, whom she wanted to come West, so with the expectation of seeing him in one of the wagons we scanned the faces of the travelers so closely that the practice became a habit, but we never found him. He came West later but stopped at Mitchell, Nebraska, and settled there. General Grant was one of the distinguished travelers to pass through Laramie and it was my good fortune to shake hands with him."

### **Dances And Quilting Bees Furnish Early-Day Recreation**

Asked about the amusements and recreation participated in by the early residents of Laramie, she called to mind dances of the old style; the polka, schottische, Virginia Reel, quadrille

and of course, the waltz. She said a crowd would plan a picnic and someone would furnish a hayrack and all would pile in with picnic baskets. "There was a beer garden one mile north of Laramie where beer and pretzels were served. Crowds went there to dance, and we had many good times there in the seventies. Winter fun was sleigh-riding and bob-sledding." And, then remembering the older people she said, "Quilting bees where friends gathered at one home and quilted for the hostess took a lot of our time. Some beautiful quilts were made in various patterns such as the log cabin, the wedding ring, the sun burst, and the crazy quilt."

Mrs. Matthews owns a quilt which belonged to her mother seventy years ago. It is beautiful and the white muslin back ground has not yellowed, nor has the colored calico, used to fashion the sun burst pattern, faded, even though the quilt has been boiled in laundering.

"O, yes, we went buggy riding. Buggies became the fashion while we were living in Laramie. The surry and the one-seated hack, with a driver's seat high behind the top which shaded the passenger's seat, were most in use then, and one was considered quite well off to own one of the luxury buggies."

To thoroughly realize that the preceding events took place many years ago, and to understand thoroughly that Mr. and Mrs. Matthews are really pioneers in Wyoming, one has but to recall the fact that the afore-mentioned incidents took place before the year 1886, the year that the couple were married; and they have long since observed their fiftieth wedding anniversary.

### **Rachel Brown, Widowed, Marries Edward A. Matthews**

After several years of widowhood, Rachel Brown met another Army man, Edward A. Matthews, who, following his discharge in October, 1881, had entered the employ of the Union Pacific railroad as a brakeman, with headquarters in Laramie City. Their marriage took place in Denver, Colorado, on July 25, 1883.

Mrs. Matthews was visibly pleased to describe her wedding dress. "Dark blue serge", she said, "basque style—pointed back and front—and trimmed with light blue bone buttons and piping of the same color. The dress had a full gathered shirt with a small train looped up with a light blue cord. My shoes, Mr. Matthews had made for me by a shoemaker in Boston, were light blue dressed kid, eighteen-button. To finish the costume, I wore a blue pancake hat covered with flowers in pastel shades. Yes, I wore my hair in bangs, cut straight and smooth, and wore a French roll at the back of my head. No, no powder or rouge! I weighed just ninety-nine and one half pounds; and was less

than five feet tall, so the wedding dress did look well." Her large dark eyes disclosed due pride as she visioned her wedding dress of long ago.

Edward A. Matthews was from Boston. His father, Edward Matthews, was a native of Ashford, County Kent, England. His mother was Jannette (Stewart) Matthews, native of Scotland. When the senior Matthews was a young man, he with his brother Walter, came to America with the intention of joining the Mormon colony in Utah, but when they reached Boston, Edward decided to remain there and to work at his trade, that of shoemaker. His brother Walter, however, went on with the Mormons. Edward and Miss Stewart were married soon after arriving in America, and to this union their son Edward A. Matthews was born. Later they moved to Hamilton, Canada, where their daughter, Jessie, was born. After about six years they returned to the United States and eventually settled in Chicago, Illinois. When Edward was twenty-one he decided that he wanted to go West to become a cow puncher. He thought the best way to make the trip would be to join the Army, so with the idea in mind of first fighting the Indians, he enlisted in the United States Army. He, now eighty-one years old, is erect and tall; has keen blue eyes and a kindly smile. He chuckled when he said, "I wasn't really twenty-one when I enlisted in '76, but I stretched my age a little."

Immediately after his enlistment he was sent to St. Louis, then to Kansas City, and finally to Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, where he was assigned to I Company of the Third Cavalry. His company was outfitted at Camp Carlin, Army supply depot for all western divisions, located half way between Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell (now Fort Francis E. Warren).

### **Mr. Matthews Assists in Burial of Custer and Thornberg Dead**

"So soon as we were outfitted we headed for General Custer in northern Wyoming," he said, and went on to describe the march. "We traveled in military file. Our column was a mile long, and included the pack train and the supply train. We had a kitchen and when we stopped for meals the boys lined up and each of us grabbed his food and ran back to his saddle and ate — probably the origin of the cafeteria. At night we stopped for a while to rest and used our saddle for a pillow and our saddle blankets for a cover. Well, we were just beyond Fetterman, or approximately one hundred and fifty miles from Camp Carlin, when we met the army ambulances returning from the Custer battle field with the wounded soldiers who had gone in to fight the Indians after Custer and his command were killed. We turned around then and went

back to Fetterman under the command of First Lieutenant A. D. King. We stayed there for a short time and spent the most of our time chasing maurading Indians, Crows and Sioux, who were after all of the cattle they could get their hands on.

"Soon we were ordered to go to the Meeker reservation where the Ute Indians had killed Meeker, the Indian agent. We started out and rode hard all night; got to Medicine Bow in the morning, and shipped our horses from there to Rawlins where we again mounted and rode across the Continental Divide to Meeker. Jim Baker, Indian scout, was our guide from where he joined us at his cabin on Fortification Creek, three miles south of Baggs, Wyoming, in the extreme south-central part of the state.

"Captain Thornberg, with his command, the E Company of the Third Cavalry went on ahead of us and when Jim Baker saw them he stopped Thornberg and asked him where he was going. When Thornberg explained that he was going to Meeker Reservation, Jim Baker, one of the best informed Indian guides in the West, said, 'You have too many men for a peace conference, and not enough to fight the Indians.' Thornberg's answer to Jim was, 'Forward march!' and they rushed on to their death. Thornberg was the first one to be killed. All of his men and thier horses were dead when we got there a little later. We used the dead animals for our breastworks. Finally we corralled the Utes and herded them into Colorado where their reservation was located. We then took the dead back to Fort Steele,<sup>1</sup> fifteen miles east of Rawlins, where we buried them. Yes, it was pretty hard; many of the boys were our friends.

### **Stationed at Fort Steele for Five Years**

"The Third Cavalry I Company stayed at Fort Steele for five years, where we fought the Crows and the Sioux. My term of enlistment expired in October, 1881, and after my discharge I went to Rawlins for awhile and then went to Laramie City and began braking for the Union Pacific. After one trip, I was made conductor with a run from Laramie City to Rawlins, and kept that run for twenty years. In 1901 my run was changed and Mrs. Matthews and I moved to Cheyenne, my new terminal. My run was from Cheyenne to Green River for twenty-seven years when I was retired in 1928. I never became a cowpuncher, my real reason for coming West.

After Mr. and Mrs. Matthews had been living in Cheyenne for about eleven years, they were made very happy by the coming of their foster daughter, Jessie Matthews, now Mrs. Winton Henry Alleman of Cheyenne.

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 344-346 for picture and history of Fort Fred Steele.



Edward Matthews reviewed with warm interest the changes and improvements which took place in his forty-seven years of railroad service. "When I started railroading in 1882 it took two engines to pull six cars." He pointed to a photograph of the new streamlined train, "If I had not retired so soon I would be riding that now," he declared.

Asked to recall some of his experiences on the road, Mr. Matthews said, "Not much happened except cold weather and snow in the winter time. I recall being snow bound for two days one winter. We were going up Sherman Hill grade and it was pretty cold, but we had provisions and cooked our meals, and were none the worse for our experience. We were caught in a blizzard near Corlett one night and I walked back to Buford for help. The cold was severe but I got there after a few hours."

Edward A. Matthews and his wife, Rachel, have enjoyed life, perhaps more than some, because they have experienced hardships and can appreciate the better things of life. They are members of the Presbyterian Church.

Their home in Cheyenne is modernistic in every way but they have kept some of the furniture of an earlier period. A bedroom is furnished with a beautiful old walnut set, high massive bed, huge mirrored dresser and marble topped table. The set dates back to 1876.

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NOTE—This sketch is written from interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Matthews in January, 1936. Mr. Matthews' death came after a short illness in June, 1937. His funeral was conducted by the Masonic Order and his grave is in the Laramie cemetery in the Addison J. House plot.

The five separate certificates showing the Honorable Discharge from the Army of the United States of Addison J. House, are on file in the State Historical Department of Wyoming.

Also, on display there, is a silver watch, originally owned by Addison J. House who carried it through the twenty-seven different engagements of the Civil War, as well as during the ten years he was engaged in Indian warfare in the Wyoming Territory. Later the watch was carried through the Spanish American War in Manila by Henry A. Brown, Mrs. Matthews' son, (the baby to whom she refers in this story.)—Alice M. Shields.

NOTE—There is no family relationship between the Matthews of this story and Alice Mathews Shields who interviewed the couple.—Ed.





FORT FRED STEELE AS IT APPEARED IN 1878

## OLD FORT FRED STEELE WAS DEFENDER OF WHITES AGAINST INDIAN DEPREDATIONS

From the Republican-Bulletin, Rawlins,  
Wyoming, August 13, 1941

"In that far-distant day in 1868 when Fort Steele was established, the government put it there on the Platte River beside the railroad for several reasons. Perhaps the chief reason was that an army camp was needed to protect the builders of the Union Pacific from the Indians. But another reason for its being situated as it was lies in the fact that it was in a strategic position. It seems as though the army like then, as now, to build forts on rivers, for rivers are not only natural bulwarks but are sources of water supply. Moreover, Fort Steele when placed on the Platte commanded a large area east and west of the river.

"Now, however, the Indian menace has vanished. Now, there are only a few remains of the fort that was abandoned in 1886 and still further deserted when the route of the Lincoln Highway was changed a few years back so that it no longer passes through the fort site. But despite the changes wrought by the hand of man, the basic strategic position of the fort has remained.

### A Site For Engineers

"Today, beside the river, with the best railroad in the United States running through it, with the power of the Seminole Dam close by, with adequate airport facilities available, with vast spacious plain and mountain areas for drills and maneuvers, the site of old Fort Steele remains just as it was when the army selected it for a fort site in the 19th century.\* \* \* \* \*

### History of Fort Steele

"When the Union Pacific Railroad was being constructed Indian depredations in Wyoming compelled the government

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NOTE:—The picture of Fort Fred Steele on the opposite page was obtained by the Wyoming Historical Department for use in this issue of the ANNALS, through the courtesy of Mrs. A. D. Sager, of Fort Steele, Wyoming, who received it from Colonel George L. Converse, of Columbus, Ohio. The Colonel served at the old Fort for several years before it was abandoned in 1886, and when sending the picture to Mrs. Sager, October 1, 1941, he wrote, "Our troops left Fort Steele for Arizona on the 8' day of May, 1882, in as heavy a blizzard and snow storm as any that winter, and on the night of the 7th, two men attempted a robbery of the Rawlins bank (Hugus) and planned after the job at Rawlins to come to Steele and rob the Commissary Department, but they were detected in Rawlins, captured, and on the morning of the 8' May were found hanging to a telegraph pole just outside the town. There were some rather rough people about even in that day, but I always got on with them without trouble . . . ." —Ed.

in 1868 to locate a new post and the place selected was at the railroad crossing of the North Platte. Colonel Richard I. Dodge was ordered to commence the construction. The troops were sent from Fort Sanders, with Lieutenant Robinson in command. They camped for about a month on the east side of the river and then moved to the west side where the ground had been laid out for the post.

"The new post was named Fort Fred Steele after General Fred Steele, a hero of the Civil War. Two saw mills were erected and logs hauled from Elk Mountain to furnish lumber for the buildings.

"Indians were everywhere and had to be constantly watched by the troops. There were also white men who were quite as bad as the Indians and who stole from the government at every opportunity. Horses and mules were often stolen and sold for big prices. At one time a bunch of 50 head of beef cattle was stolen from the government and none of them ever recovered.

"The military reservation itself was established on June 28, 1869. Frame buildings provided quarters for four companies of soldiers. The garrison was kept at Fort Steele for over 10 years. During these 10 years, amid the harrowing attacks of the Indians, the encounters and experiences of the soldiers proved most sanguinary.

"The beginning of the end for Fort Steele began on Jan. 24, 1878, when General George Cook in an annual report stated: "While no military necessity exists for troops at Fort Steele and Fort Sanders, yet they are cheap places for stationing troops."

"From the fort in mid-September, 1879, Major Thos. F. Thornburg led soldier troops to the aid of Nathan Meeker, agent of the White River Utes in Northwestern Colorado. The Utes disliked the government's farm policy, which Meeker was administering, and because Meeker insisted upon it the Utes uprose and killed the agent. En route there Thornburg was ambushed and he and 12 others were killed and 47 soldiers were wounded. Soon after this, the troops were removed from Fort Steele.

"At the present time all that remains of Fort Steele are four old buildings and the old powder house. Remnants of the old stone corral are still in evidence and on the summit of the hill south of the settlement is the cemetery with a broken-down picket fence and broken headstones. Most of these old buildings are owned by livestock companies, since the business index lists Fort Steele's main occupation as that of stock-raising.

"Yet, despite the tattered ruins of what was once a proud army station, the site remains intact and that is what is most important. \* \* \* \* \*



## THE FOURTH INFANTRY PRESS AT FORT BRIDGER

By Douglas C. McMurtrie\*

The earliest known printing within the limits of the present state of Wyoming was done by Hiram Brudage at Fort Bridger in June, 1863. Brundage, who seems to have been a telegraph operator at the fort, published, in a primitive manner, a little news sheet, which he called the *Daily Telegraph*, containing Civil War news for the information of the members of the garrison and of the civilian residents of the vicinity. Only two issues of this most unpretentious little paper are known to have survived—a copy of the third<sup>1</sup> issue, dated June 26, 1863, and a copy of No. 24, July 26, 1863.

After this modest beginning at Fort Bridger, it was more than four years before printing was again undertaken in Wyoming. Then, in the summer of 1867, three newspapers (the *Cheyenne Leader*, the *Star*, and the *Argus*) made their appearance in the boom town of Cheyenne. And at the end of 1867 the traveling press of the *Frontier Index*, the extraordinary newspaper which followed the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad from point to point, made a short stop at Fort Sanders.

The press made its second appearance at Fort Bridger in February, 1868, when J. Edward Warren and Charles J. Hazard began the publication there of the semi-weekly *Sweetwater Mines*. Three months later, however, this newspaper had been removed to South Pass City.<sup>2</sup>

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\*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Douglas C. McMurtrie, son of William and Helen McMurtrie, was born at Belmar, New Jersey, on July 20, 1888, and "is known as an authority on typography, and the history of printing; also an authority on provision for crippled children and disabled soldiers." He received his preparatory education at Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1906-1909. Mr. McMurtrie has held numerous editorial positions and is the author of many publications, especially on the subject of early printing in America.

Among other activities at the present time (1941) Mr. McMurtrie is a member of the Committee on Historical Source Materials of the American Historical Association, and as such, he is chairman of the Special Committee on Library Holdings, with office at 950 Michigan Avenue, Evanston, Illinois.

For a complete biography, see *Who's Who in America*.

1. A little spot or blur on this copy makes the figure 3 look like an 8, and the issue was previously described as being "No. 8." Careful examination discloses that the figure is actually a 3.

See Douglas C. McMurtrie, "Pioneer Printing in Wyoming," ANNALS OF WYOMING, v. 9, no. 3, January, 1933, p. 729-742 (with a reproduction of the issue of June 26, 1863), and "An Early Newspaper of Wyoming," Chicago: Black Cat Press, 1933 (with photostatic facsimiles of both issues).

2. See Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The Sweetwater Mines, a Pioneer Wyoming Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly*, v. 12, no. 2, June, 1935, p. 164-165.



**Musical**

**EVENING ENTERTAINMENT.**

*GIVEN BY THE*

**Fourth U. S. Infantry**

**String Band.**

**AT THE POST HALL**

**FORT BRIDGER WY, TER.**

*December 31 1875.*

Fourth Infantry Press



## Programme



1. Rifle March..... by Faust
2. Weber's last Waltz with Var.  
Flute Solo A. Bueler.
3. a. Song. Good night my child.....by Abt.  
b. Song. The Swiss Cottage.....by Abt.  
C. Ehrler.
4. Theresien Waitz .. by Lachner.
5. Alexis "grand Fantasia".....by Hartman.  
Cornet Solo J. Nevotti.
6. Overture Poet and Peasant.... by Suppe.

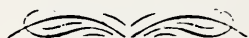


Page 2 of Musical Program printed at Fort Bridger in 1875.

Printing took root slowly in Wyoming. During the year 1868, in addition to the appearance of the *Sweetwater Mines* at South Pass City, the transitory *Frontier Index* made stops at Laramie, Green River, and Bear River (now Knight). A more stationary press appeared at Laramie in 1869, with the *Laramie*

# Intermission

## OF TEN MINUTES.



- |     |                                |               |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 7.  | Duet from Sonnambala... ..     | by Bellini    |
|     | a / Song. Evening prayer.....  | by Kreutzer   |
| 8.  | b. ) Song. Sevilla.....        | by Reichardt. |
|     | R. Schmidt                     |               |
| 9.  | Fantasia from Sonnambala ..... | by Bellini    |
|     | Violin Solo J. Hirsch.         |               |
| 10. | Chimes of Strassburg ... ..    | by Wagner     |
|     | Zither Solo J. Nevotti.        |               |
| 11. | Duet for two Violins.... ..    | by Kalliwoda. |
|     | J. Hirsch and R. Schmidt.      |               |
| 12. | New Vienna Waltz.....          | by Strauss.   |



Page 3 of Musical Program printed at Fort Bridger in 1875.

*Daily Sentinel*. And there was probably a press in Evanston in 1872.

It is all the more interesting, therefore, to note here the reappearance in 1875 of Fort Bridger in the annals of Wyoming printing. The evidence of this has only recently come to my

notice, in the form of a program of a "Musical Evening Entertainment given by the Fourth U. S. Infantry String Band, at the Post Hall, Fort Bridger, Wy. Ter., December 31, 1875."

The program bears the imprint of the "Fourth Infantry Press."

This little memento of a long-forgotten event is in the collection of Mr. Everett D. Graff, of Winnetka, Illinois, and it is with Mr. Graff's courteous permission that a reproduction of its three pages is presented here. True, it is not a striking specimen of typography, but it has its appeal. More than that, however, it deserves recording as one of the very rarest imprints that has yet come out of Wyoming. The Fourth Infantry Press at Fort Bridger unquestionably did other printing needed for the routine of an army post. But perhaps it is worth noting that in the sole survival of their work those army printers displayed their skill in the program for a cultural event—a New Year's Eve "Musical Evening Entertainment."

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## A MARKER POINTS THE WAY

### To Grave of Sacajawea\*

While the afternoon shadows slowly slid down the eastern slopes of the Wind River Mountains near Fort Washakie, on September 26, 1941, more than 1,000 people attended the unveiling ceremonies of a bronze tablet, placed on a huge monolith of granite by the Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission, as an additional tribute to the memory of Sacajawea, Shoshone Indian woman, who with her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific Coast in 1805. The monument, erected on US 287, points the way to Sacajawea's grave, two miles westward in the Shoshone burial ground.

With all of the color and precision of a theatrical pageant the program progressed under the able direction of L. L. Newton, of Lander, master of ceremonies. But this was not a rehearsed production—this was reality—for there were present Indians and white men who personally had known Sacajawea, "Bazil's Mother". Included among these were: Pandora Pogue, 98-year old Shoshone woman, arrayed in a bright shawl, beaded moccasins and leggings; Quantan Quay, stalwart 100-year old Indian scout; Mayor W. T. Jones of Lander, who at one time operated a meat business on the Shoshone Indian Reservation and who knew "Bazil's Mother" well; and the Reverend John Roberts, beloved missionary among the Shoshone Indians, who

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\*A symposium on SACAJAWEA was presented in the July, 1941, issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

performed the rites of the Episcopal Church at the grave of the aged Indian woman on April 9, 1884.

To the right of the monument were gathered direct descendants of Sacajawea's son, Baptiste, and of her nephew and adopted son, Bazil. To the left were members of the Washakie family and the Indian and white friends who had known "Por-ivo," as Sacajawea was often called. To the rear on a raised platform Arapahoe and Shoshone warriors in full regalia added much color to the scene. A loud speaker, operated by an automobile nearby, provided a most modern touch. Hundreds of Indians and white children were allowed front positions so that "they would be able to tell their children's children that they had taken part in this memorable occasion which would for once and all set forth the proof of the genuineness of the real Sacajawea and her residence on the Wind River Reservation."<sup>1</sup>

In recounting the historical significance of the celebration, Mr. Newton told of the Shoshone Indian girl who had carried her papoose from the Dakotas to the "all salt water" of the Pacific.

"We honor Sacajawea today," he said, "on the ground her feet made sacred where she lived and passed on to the spirit world. Her youthful courage, knowledge of the dangers of wild animals, storms and floods of raging streams, of hostile Indians, of famine and hardships of the journey, all contribute to the fidelity and courage of this brave Shoshone girl."

Chairman Warren Richardson, John Charles Thompson and Joseph S. Weppner of the Historical Landmark Commission, were introduced as the ones directly responsible for the erection of the beautiful memorial. Next, the Indian Committee, composed of Charles Driskell, Mrs. Maud Clairmont, Mrs. Nellie Scott Thomas, Jo Durand and Gilbert Day, with Superintendent Forrest Stone and Engineer Space, was introduced and credited with the success of the celebration. Recognition also was given to the valuable assistance of the Sub-Committee comprising: Reverend John Roberts, Mrs. B. B. Brooks, Mrs. Lenora Stone, Mr. John Charles Thompson and Mrs. Inez Babb Taylor.

"Then came that part of the ceremony which gave proof to the reality of Sacajawea. Pandora Pogue stood straight and proudly as Interpreter Compton repeated the interview that he had with her in which she told of knowing Sacajawea at Fort Bridger in 1868 and later at the Shoshone Agency. Pandora Pogue was present when Sacajawea died and she saw her buried in the cemetery near the Roberts Mission."

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1. All quotations not otherwise credited are taken from the Wyoming State Journal, Lander, Wyoming.

Quantan Quay, through the Interpreter, stated that he had known Sacajawea or Porivo very well, also her sons, Baptiste and Bazil. "I was at the council at Fort Bridger when this reservation was given to us," he said. "Sacajawea was at that meeting. I know she was there because I saw her. " He also told of attending her burial.

The next speaker was the Reverend John Roberts, who said: "I want to say a few words to you especially concerning the burial of the heroine of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I shall not trouble you with an account of that burial because it would take too long and the sun is going down . . . I wish to say to you that I did have the privilege and honor of leading the burial services of that great woman . . . She was buried in what is now called the Shoshone burial grounds as the monolith indicates which is dedicated and unveiled today. For us and future generations to come it indicates that she was buried in the Shoshone cemetery . . . may the memory of that noted Shoshone woman live forever in the hearts of a grateful people."

Former Governor Bryant B. Brooks of Casper, as speaker of the day, lauded the young Shoshone woman for the important part she played in opening the great west to a new civilization. He paid a tribute to her loyalty and her willingness to do her task and do it well . . . He spoke of the Indians and the whites working together to build a home in the beautiful valley and of the historical significance of the day's celebration.

"If anyone will read," said Governor Brooks, "the life of Sacajawea as written by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, noted historian of the Wyoming University, how she traced the life of the two sons . . . from the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition step by step down to the present time when their descendants are here among us, he cannot fail to see that the young Indian woman, 16 years old, who led the white men to the west is identically the same woman that Rev. Roberts buried."

In the formal ceremonies Warren Richardson, on behalf of the Landmark Commission, presented the marker to Governor Nels H. Smith for the State of Wyoming. The Governor, in turn entrusted it to the care of the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians.

"We are indeed proud," said Governor Smith, "to memorialize such a woman, and we feel that through the painstaking study of our notable citizens and historians we have established, beyond any doubt, the right to claim that this woman, Sacajawea, is buried here in the soil of Wyoming, and that claims which have been made to the contrary have been without foundation.

"The evidence submitted by the Reverend John Roberts, the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, other prominent and responsible Wyoming citizens, and the testimony of these four competent witnesses today conclusively proves that Sacajawea



. . . . rests in the little cemetery only two miles from this point. The evidence is now worthy of acceptance by Federal authorities and the American public.

"It is my hope that we can now win such acceptance and succeed in securing through Congressional action, the funds for establishing an appropriate shrine at the grave of the courageous American citizen, Sacajawea, whose exploits in guiding the Lewis and Clark Expedition through our Northwest country was an achievement of which our Indian and White citizens alike can be proud."

As two great grand daughters of Sacajawea: Irene Large and Gloria Isis, lifted the American flag and unveiled the marker, the slanting sun rays made the plaque glow like molten gold.

Chief Dick Washakie, in accepting the memorial, upon behalf of the Indian tribes, pledged his fidelity to the white people and confirmed the faith of his father Chief Washakie in his white friends.

"I am going to accept this gift from our white father," he said, "on behalf of my people and I'm going to say from my heart out 'Thank you' for my people."

The ceremonies closed when the Rev. John Roberts lifted his hand in benediction and stood facing the foothills where the remains of Sacajawea and her two sons, Baptiste and Bazil, rest.

It is hoped that this granite monolith which has been placed on US 287 will not only direct the way to the grave of Sacajawea, but will arouse interest in the spot so that someday there will be erected a magnificent monument immortalizing Sacajawea, the Boat Woman,<sup>1</sup> whose story is one of deep historical significance to the entire Nation.

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1. Although the Lewis and Clark Journals referred to Sacajawea as the "Bird Woman," Dr. Hebard and other historians, after many years of research were agreed that "Boat Woman" or "Boat Pusher" was the true interpretation of the word, Sacajawea.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY  
C. G. COUTANT, PIONEER HISTORIAN,  
AND HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED**

**Laramie County**

Chapter XVIII

**Cheyenne Continued—Mining is Activity—Levi Powell  
Brutally Killed by Indians—Third Congressional Elec-  
tion Held, 1872—Court House and School House  
Completed in 1872.**

Another glance must now be taken at Laramie County as a whole, for it must be borne in mind that events worthy of mention which were occurring from time to time outside of Cheyenne are being referred to under the head of Cheyenne—such events in the main being incidental to its history. The stock and other interests were prospering at the beginning of 1872, and a great deal of prospecting was done during that year in the vicinity of Laramie Peak, and in the country at and around Iron Mountain. Such was the case, also much nearer to Cheyenne in what is now known as the "Silver Crown" district, but which was destined ere long to be an organized mining district known as the "Metcalf." Many of the ranchmen in the county had by this time begun to engage to a limited extent in sheep raising and wool growing, which were found to be profitable. Roads were laid out by the county commissioners of Laramie County in various directions and new settlements (here and there new ranches) were springing up to a very considerable extent. The Indians, however, still continued to raid in the northern portion of the county, but their depredations were, with one exception, confined to running off stock.

On the 5th day of May, 1872, Levi Powell, an active, energetic and prosperous ranchman set out from his ranch several miles southwest of Ft. Laramie to hunt up some lost stock. He rode over to a point about half way between Ft. Laramie and the Laramie River, and as he came over the brow of a little hill discovered an Indian tepee some distance away

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NOTE.—Beginning with the January, 1940 issue, the staff of the ANNALS OF WYOMING has transcribed verbatim and published the original manuscript of C. G. Coutant, which is part of the collection known as "The Coutant Notes." It was written in 1886 with pencil on seven ordinary school tablets, frayed and yellowed with age. They are among the valuable items to be found in the Original Manuscript File of the State Historical Department.

The entire collection was purchased originally by the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard from Mrs. Coutant in 1914, and in turn was obtained by the Wyoming Historical Society (now the State Historical Department) in 1921.

It is planned to complete the publication of these tablets in the 1942 issues of the ANNALS OF WYOMING.—Ed.

with a small Indian boy sitting beside the fire in front of it. He rode down to where the boy was sitting, and dismounted from his horse. The boy jabbered away to parties inside when Powell discovered that the tent was full of Indians who were taking a sweat bath—a kind of bath obtained by burning logs and brush on a big pile of stones until they are well heated, when the burning logs are removed and water poured upon the stones, which produces the steam. While Powell was standing there trying to talk, the Indians came out of the tent. There were seven of them including the notorious Crazy Horse and Little Big Man. Powell had with him his loaded rifle which he held in one hand, and with the other on his horse's neck. Finally one of the Indians reached out and took hold of his gun and as he apparently desired to look at it Powell let go of the weapon. The Indian looked at it for awhile, and then passed it over to the next one. The last one to take the gun was Little Big Man, and this Indian, after sighting and pointing the gun, suddenly fired shooting Powell through the head. He fell to the ground dead, but the red devils caught up clubs and sticks which lay upon the ground and mashed his head nearly to a jelly. They then mounted their horses and taking along with them Powell's horse and gun rode rapidly away in the direction of the river. Powell's body was found the next day, and was eventually brought to Cheyenne and buried in the city cemetery. A costly marble monument with an inscription upon it showing the date and name of his death was placed over his grave by a surviving brother.

Another congressional election occurred in Wyoming in September, 1872, results of which in Laramie County, together with the vote for county officers, was as follows: For Delegate in Congress, W. R. Steele, 518; W. T. Jones, 572; County Officers (result in Cheyenne, no record existing of the balance of the county) Sheriff, N. J. O'Brien, 446; T. Jeff Carr, 378; County Clerk, Warren Richardson, 452; J. K. Jeffery, 370; County Attorney, W. W. Corlett, 387; W. H. Miller, 452; Coroner, J. C. Webb, 425; Geo. H. Powell, 387.

The following whose names were on both tickets were elected, of course:

Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. M. H. Arnold—766; Surveyor, R. Blackstone—812; Judge of Probate, etc., W. L. Kuykendall—778; County Commissioner, M. E. Post—768; T. Dyer—769; J. H. Nichols—769. John Slaughter and A. G. Mead were elected Justices of the Peace in the Cheyenne precinct, and Fred Smith and Wm. Taylor, constables.

Although the foregoing figures do not indicate it (being only the Cheyenne vote), the official result elected T. Jeff Carr, sheriff, and W. W. Corlett, county attorney.

The new court house and also the school house, the erection of which were commenced in the year 1871, were both completed during the summer of 1872. The old court house which had been used prior to the completion of the new one formerly stood on the southwest corner of Eddy and Seventeenth Streets, but was burned down July 3d, 1874.

The municipal election at the end of 1872 resulted as follows:

(Several lines of blank space left in manuscript.—Ed.)

During the summer of 1873 affairs were very quiet in Cheyenne, and many who complained of hard times predicted that "the bottom had fallen out of the town," but they were greatly mistaken. At this time county warrants, which had in former years been negotiated and sold for less than 70 cts. on the dollar, were now quoted nearly at par, and city warrants, which in the early days had been as low as 30 and 33 cts. on the dollar, were now promptly taken at 5 and 6 per cent discount which facts spoke well for the financial management of the two jurisdictions. The erection of brick buildings in the city had now begun, and beginning with the Joslin & Park Block on the southeast corner of Ferguson and Sixteenth Streets (in 1871) several were completed before the middle of the summer of 1873.

Early in 1873, Tousant Kensler, a half breed Sioux, who had been arrested, tried and convicted for the murder of Adolph Penio at a ranch on the Sybille, and who was under sentence of death, escaped from the jail in Cheyenne with a companion, and succeeded in making his way back to the Indian reservation near Red Cloud agency, where by careful and shrewd management he succeeded in eluding recapture for nearly a year.

In the fall of 1873 the appearance and prospects of gold, copper, etc., in what eventually became the Metcalf Mining District about twenty-two miles west of Cheyenne in the foothills, were such that several of the Cheyenne capitalists were disposed to form a syndicate for the development of the mines, and did so shortly afterwards, but the experiment did not prove to be a paying one at that time.

The following was the result of the election for membership of the legislature, etc., in September, 1873:

Council: F. E. Warren, 511; P. McKay, 465; I. C. Whipple, 474; L. Murrin, 337; J. R. Whitehead, 328; Posey S. Wilson, 369.

House of Representatives: Jervis Joslin, 458; Harry Conley, 477; F. S. Whitney, 436; T. N. DeKay, 444; W. L. Kuykendall, 365; Herman Haas, 403; L. D. Barey, 369; D. C. Tracy, 358.

At the same election W. W. Corlett was re-elected county attorney. He had been appointed postmaster at Cheyenne

since his election as county attorney in 1872, and not being entitled to hold both offices he resigned the position of county attorney. Shortly thereafter Major Herman Glafcke, ex-secretary, was appointed postmaster. The vacancy in the county attorneyship still existing in the fall of 1873, his opponent being T. J. Street, the vote standing Corlett, 503, Street, 335. At the same time there was a vacancy in the office of coroner, and Dr. George H. Russell was elected to the position by a vote of 492 to 383 for Dr. J. J. Hunt, his opponent.

Messrs. Warren, McKay and Whipple were those elected to the Council, and Messrs. Joslin, Conley, Whitney, and Haas to the House—all Republicans except the latter.

The legislature convened in November at the Court House, F. E. Warren being elected president of the Council, and . . . . Wilkinson speaker of the House. This session of the legislature passed the . . . . compulsory education bill, speaker Wilkinson being the only member of the House who voted against it, explaining at the time that the law would not be enforced. It never has been. The legislature also reduced the limits of the First Judicial District of Wyoming making Laramie County the only one in the district, and providing for only two terms of court each year in the district.

The "capital removal" question was revived again during the latter part of the session, but failed to pass for various reasons one of which was, that during the absence of two members of the Council belonging in the western portion of the territory, the Council adjourned sine die. When the two members appeared they and their friends . . . . to reorganize the Council, elected E. L. Pease president, and proceeded to pass the capital removal bill by an unanimous vote, the House of Representatives also passing the bill. No attention was ever paid by anybody to the proceedings of this "romp" body, and in a short time they were apparently forgotten. At the municipal election at the end of 1873, which was quite hotly contested, were elected trustees and the board organized by the election of George Carrels, president, and ex-officio mayor.

The city officers appointed were \* \* \* (Several lines of blank space allowed for filling in names.—Ed.)

During the summer of 1873, Col. A. S. Emery laid out and enclosed the "Emery Park"<sup>7</sup> just west of Lake Mahpealutah<sup>8</sup> about one mile north of Cheyenne at a cost of over \$4,000. At this park, from time to time thereafter, running and trotting races occurred which drew large crowds, and among them many prominent men from Denver, Omaha, and elsewhere. This was the first trotting and race course ever started in

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7. This is now part of Frontier Park.

8. Now known as Sloan's Lake.



Wyoming. Some years later Maj. John Talbot enclosed and opened a trotting and race park at his beautiful place near Camp Carlin northwest of Cheyenne about one mile, and here occurred, under the auspices of the Cheyenne Trotting Park Association, many trotting and running races which rivaled in interest those frequently held at Denver, Colorado.

#### Chapter XIX

### Laramie County

**Cheyenne Continued — Sioux Uprising — "Cheyenne Rangers" Organized — Touissant Kensler, Murderer, Captured—Cheyenne Suffers Fire, July 2, 1874—Another Fire July 3, And Indian Excitement—County Election September 2, 1874—Cheyenne Daily News Established, September 6, 1874—Official Hanging of Kensler by Sheriff T. Jeff Carr—Black Hills Gold Excitement—Expeditions by General Custer and Professor Jenney—Inter Ocean Hotel Built in Cheyenne.**

In the winter of 73-74 the Sioux Indians broke out again, this time commencing operations at Red Cloud Agency where two or three persons were killed, and shortly after, but in the same region of country, a lieutenant and several soldiers were killed also. For several days a victim of the savages would be brought in to Cheyenne every day. There was great excitement in Cheyenne and throughout the country, and this time the government acted promptly, and a large force was promptly collected at Ft. Laramie which eventually made a night march toward Red Cloud Agency, and before the Indians could prepare to resist them they arrived at the agency, and at length order was restored, although many of the Indians scattered away and roamed abroad at will. At this time there were nearly 24,000 Indians near Red Cloud (the old agency) less than 100 miles from Cheyenne. More than 6000 of these Indians were warriors, and being within forty-eight hours ride of Cheyenne it is not to be wondered at that the people felt somewhat alarmed. All sorts of rumors were set afloat at the time and whatever they might be there were always many who would believe them. One of these rumors was that Red Cloud (a Sioux Chief) camped one night within 18 miles of Cheyenne with 700 warriors.

During the prevalence of the excitement an Indian was captured by the military three miles above Fort Russell, and brought to the Post. The question then was what should be done with him. At length he was released and started north. Acting upon a suggestion made by some one that it was a good time to go out on a "jack rabbit hunt" several cavalry men

immediately asked and obtained permission to go out on a trip of that kind. They went, and came back, but brought no jack rabbits with them. It has always been greatly feared that the cavalrymen mistook that Indian for a jack rabbit, and did not discover their error until it was too late.

During this "scare" which did not entirely subside for several months it was proposed that a military company be formed in Cheyenne for home protection, and also to sally out when necessary to the rescue of people living outside of the city. A meeting was called, and it was decided to organize a company to be called the "Cheyenne Rangers" each man to furnish his own horse and equipment. Quite a number of men at once "enlisted" as it was called. Then the election of officers occurred. Hon. A. H. Swan was elected captain, Major Glajcke and Major Talbot, lieutenants, Morris Appel quartermaster sergeant, and a full set of non-commissioned officers throughout. Then some fellow moved that a second set of officers for the "Rangers" be elected also. The motion was carried, and a second set elected. When they got through electing officers W. P. Carroll, a newcomer in the city at that time, was the only private left in the company. The "Rangers" never got together more than two or three times, and were the subject of considerable merriment at the time. W. G. Provinces took occasion to explain to a number of very late arrivals in the city (sometimes irreverently called tenderfeet) that the new military organization was composed of "pretty b-a-d men" and that each member of the company would carry a bucket to catch the blood in when they went out on a raid. Some of those who listened to the story appeared to believe it.

Mention has elsewhere been made of the escape of Touissant Kensler, the half-breed, under sentence of death for the murder of Adolph Perrio. On the first day of June, 1874, Kensler was discovered by the military authorities near Red Cloud Agency. Two companies of troops under the command of the late Captain Crawford (then a lieutenant) and Lieutenant Ray surrounded Little Wound's band near the agency, and after being quite badly wounded in the leg Kensler was captured and taken back to Cheyenne and lodged in jail, reaching the city June 10. W. W. Jeffrey, now the assessor of Laramie County, was at Red Cloud Agency on the day when Kensler accompanying a freight train belonging to D. J. McCann. . . . The Indians were on the point of rising and murdering the whole party, and as soon as the teams were unloaded they "pulled out" and never stopped until the North Platte River was reached—nearly sixty miles distant.

On the night of the 2d day of July, 1874, a fire broke out in the rear of McDaniels' theatre on Eddy Street in Cheyenne. The rear end of the theatre was burned out after which the flames swept through from the rear of the establishment, and eventually burned to the ground the meat market kept at that time on Seventeenth Street, and the store of I. C. Whipple standing close beside it, and also seriously damaged the wholesale liquor store of Col. Murrin. The Fire Department fought nobly on this occasion, but a large amount of damage was done ere the flames could be checked. The fire was undoubtedly the work of incendiaries, and it was generally believed to have been set by the half-breeds, quite a number of whom were then in Cheyenne in pursuance of a plan to rescue Touissant Kensler.

The next day, July 3d, there was a picnic excursion to Dale Creek, and that night was one of the wildest ever known in the history of Cheyenne. At about 10 pm another fire broke out, this time on the corner where still stood the old court house just south of the "Revolution Store." The wind was very high at the time, and the sparks were carried nearly all over the town. At one time during the night the city was on fire in fourteen different places—set by the flying sparks. Seven buildings in all, including the old court house, were burned to the ground. The efforts made by the members of the Durant Fire Company, and the "Pioneer Hooks" and also by many others were gallant in the extreme. N. J. O'Brien and Tom McGovern handled the nozzle of the hose that was sending a stream of water upon the roof of the old Revolution Store, and had blankets over their heads which were constantly kept wet by water being carried in buckets and thrown upon them, otherwise they would have been suffocated. A Presbyterian preacher named Reed in endeavoring to assist got upon the roof of the Revolution Store, and would have died from the effects of the heat had he not been rescued. There was great excitement and nearly everybody in the city was out on the streets. While the fire was raging a telegram was received from the Chug stating that a band of 500 Indians had come into the valley that afternoon headed toward Cheyenne for the purpose of rescuing Touissant Kensler. The news was at once sent to Fort Russell, and in less than twenty minutes four companies of infantry and companies of cavalry came down to the city and were posted for the balance of the night on the various streets leading out of town to the east, and northeast. No demonstration on the part of the Indians was attempted, however.

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1. This is the same James McDaniels who established Wyoming's first museum. See page 365.

On the second Tuesday in September the election for county officers took place, the result being as follows:

|                                |                          |      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|------|
| Sheriff . . . . .              | N. J. O'Brien . . . . .  | 881  |
| Charles F. Miller . . . . .    |                          | 731  |
| Judge of Probate, etc. . . . . | D. C. Tracy . . . . .    | 909  |
| R. Blackstone . . . . .        |                          | 633  |
| County Clerk . . . . .         | G. B. Stimson . . . . .  | 701  |
| T. Jeff Carr . . . . .         |                          | 650  |
| Warren Richardson . . . . .    |                          | 151  |
| County Attorney . . . . .      | W. W. Corlett . . . . .  | 811  |
| W. H. Miller . . . . .         |                          | 734  |
| Assessor . . . . .             | E. J. Morris . . . . .   | 845  |
| Isaac Bergman . . . . .        |                          | 709  |
| Supt. of Schools . . . . .     | F. W. Hilliard . . . . . | 906  |
| H. E. Stark . . . . .          |                          | 624  |
| Coroner . . . . .              | James Talbot . . . . .   | 928  |
| R. H. Kipp . . . . .           |                          | 614  |
| Surveyor . . . . .             | A. J. Parshall . . . . . | 1537 |
| County Commissioners . . . . . | L. D. Bearey . . . . .   | 939  |
| Fred Landau . . . . .          |                          | 871  |
| G. A. Draper . . . . .         |                          | 838  |
| J. S. Taylor . . . . .         |                          | 678  |
| H. N. Orr . . . . .            |                          | 593  |
| H. B. Trufant . . . . .        |                          | 683  |

T. M. Fisher and A. G. Mead were elected Justices of the Peace, and Wm. Taylor and C. S. Devoe, constables, for Cheyenne precinct.

All of the officers elected were democrats except O'Brien, Corlett, Stimson, and Parshall. The name of the latter was on both tickets.

Immediately after the September election (Sept. 6), the *Cheyenne Daily News* made its appearance in Cheyenne with W. P. Carroll as its first editor. The paper was published by W. M. Benton and T. J. Fisher, and prior to the election had been run as a campaign sheet merely with Governor Campbell, Dr. G. W. Corey, Posey S. Wilson, and others, as daily contributors but had no editor.

November 19. Touissant Kensler was hung in an old stone building then standing near what has for some years been known as "Tracy's Corral" and thus this troublesome character finally reached the end of his course. Sheriff T. Jeff Carr did the hanging in the presence of about fifty people. This was the second legal execution in Wyoming Territory.

(Here in the manuscript was space and paragraph in skeleton form for results of city election, never completed by the author.—Ed.)

During the summer and fall of 1874 there was much excitement in Cheyenne over the report that rich and extensive gold



mines had been found in the Dakota Black Hills. This, however, was not a new matter with the Cheyenne people, for as early as 1870 there was much speculation on the subject, and preparations were made to send out an expedition, but nothing came of it. At that time there lived in Cheyenne a very eccentric colored man named Sam Fields who was dubbed with the title of "General" and thought he understood the Black Hills question pretty well. Another colored man named Henry Watson also resided in the city then, and he thought that he also understood the situation pretty thoroughly, and such being the case, "the boys" arranged for them to have a public discussion on the subject as their views regarding the matter did not wholly coincide. The discussion was held in the old court house, and was one of the richest affairs that ever happened in the "Magic City." "General" Fields commenced his speech by exclaiming "Fellah citizens ob Cheyenne, Wyomington." That was about as far as he got with the subject for the next five minutes. When it came Watson's turn to speak, he explained that the only way to get into the Black Hills was to get together an army of 10,000 men with 600 pieces of artillery in front "and den mabe de foces to de front."

In 1879 Gen. Custer led out an expedition into the Black Hills and in May, 1875, Prof. W. P. Jenney with a party of assistants started from Ft. Laramie for the hills, and were gone nearly five months, returning with the report that gold existed there "in paying quantities." Subsequently, a party from Dakota went into the hills, endured many hardships, etc, and was brought out by an expedition sent in there by the government under the command of Captain Pollock, who was killed at the Inter Ocean Hotel in Cheyenne in the winter of 1884, by falling down the stairway. Among those who came out of the hills, and who was a member of the Dakota party, was a man named Warren, who arrived first at Fort Laramie and then came to Cheyenne. A meeting was held at the court house where Mr. Warren related his experiences. Much pains were taken by Cheyenne men to advertise the fact that the most feasible route to the hills was via Cheyenne, and considerable expense was incurred. Among those who did good service for Cheyenne in this respect was Dr. G. W. Corey who assisted a gentleman named J. H. Triggs to get and publish a book mainly devoted to Black Hills matters pointing out the proper route, etc. A Colonel Carpenter (who lately figured as one of the leaders of the "Oklahoma boomers") came to Cheyenne during the prevalence of the excitement for the purpose of organizing an expedition to go into the hills. Though Carpenter was exceedingly talkative, he did good service for Cheyenne, and largely assisted in turning the tide of immigration into the hills to Cheyenne first as an outfitting point. He authorized the editor



of the *Cheyenne Daily News* to attach his name to any and all communications he saw fit to send to any of the papers in Kansas and Missouri concerning the best route to the hills, and that individual made good use of it in that way. Between the 1st day of December, 1875, and the 1st day of June of the following year more than 6000 men "outfitted" in Cheyenne, and departed for the Black Hills.

During the year 1875 the Inter Ocean Hotel, one of the finest in the far West, was built in Cheyenne by an enterprising colored man from Colorado named B. L. Ford, but he did not remain its proprietor very long. Mr. Ford also had a hotel on Sixteenth Street some years before that but was burned out by the great fire of January 11, 1870.

During the spring and summer of 1875, there was a remarkable amount of thunder and lightening in and around Cheyenne, and several people were killed by lightening during the season—among others, a man named Hogan, who lived at that time south of the railroad track.

The election for member of the legislature at the September election in 1875 was as follows: those elected all being Democrats.

Council (at large) Laramie and Albany Counties, Herman Haas, 1360; R. Galbraith, 26; W. L. Kuykendall, 951; L. R. Bresnahan, 924; G. A. Searight, 983; H. B. Kelly, 836; F. E. Addoms, 439; I. C. Whipple, 431; Thomas Sturgis, 438; F. S. Whitney, 432.

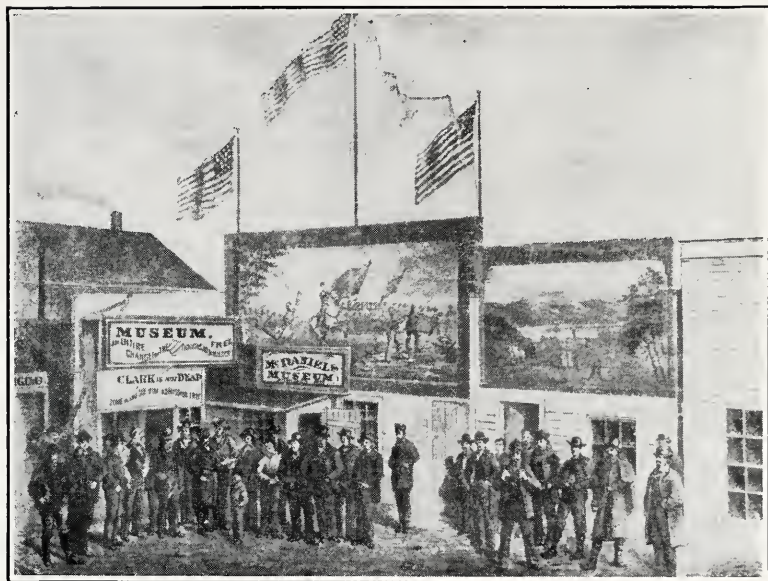
House of Representatives:

J. E. Davis, 838; A. H. Reel, 1020; Peter Hanna, 899; W. M. Ward, 881; John Nealon, 1003; H. Kimme, 842; N. Weeks, 893; J. W. Allen, 846; G. W. Corey, 436; J. W. Hammond, 614; H. E. Hurlbut, 451; W. P. Carroll, 435; J. H. Durbin, 451; L. R. Graves, 529; H. Conley, 518; J. W. Ford, 338.

J. W. Allen having left the county there was a vacancy which was filled by the election of P. McKay, a republican.

The following were elected trustees at the city election in December (Here space was left in the manuscript evidently for insertion of names of trustees, by the author.—Ed.)

(To be continued)



### WYOMING'S FIRST MUSEUM—1867

It is a far cry from Wyoming's first so-called Museum, established by James McDaniels, in Cheyenne on October 31, 1867, to the present day modern Museum of the State Historical Department!

McDaniels, a "born showman", who came to Cheyenne from Julesburg just preceding the arrival of the Union Pacific Railroad, was for more than twelve years, Wyoming's leading theatrical manager.

His first venture in Cheyenne was a Free Museum on Eddy Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets, where he exhibited stereoscopic views from "all over the world." Admission to the Museum was free to those who patronized his bar.

McDaniels advertised extensively and after an eclipse of the sun had occurred, placed the following in the *Cheyenne Leader*:

"Astronomical eclipses are of infrequent occurrence, but there is an eclipse taking place on Eddy St., daily and nightly It is Professor McDaniels' Museum, which eclipses every other place of amusement in town . . ."



### WYOMING STATE MUSEUM—1941

Your Wyoming State Museum, housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

During the last few weeks four new moth and dust proof, streamlined, glass cases have been added to the museum equipment to furnish additional space for museum pieces. Some new lighting also has been installed.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved, and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.

## PIONEER ASSOCIATIONS IN WYOMING

As the result of a survey made in the summer of 1941, for a Handbook being compiled by the American Association for State and Local History, our staff became acquainted with a number of societies in the state, whose members are exceedingly active in historical matters. It is highly gratifying to find that many of them are working with the State Historical Department in the great task of preserving Wyoming history.

In recognition of the splendid work which these various societies have been and are doing, the editorial staff of the ANNALS plans to present in this and future issues, a short history of each society. In this number is presented a brief history and roster of members of the Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties, prepared by Anna B. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer of the organization.

If the secretary of each local or county organization will prepare a history of the group, we shall be pleased to devote part of the ANNALS to its publication.

A partial list of the local historical societies in Wyoming follows:

Albany County—Women's Club of Laramie Museum Committee

Converse County (Statewide)—Wyoming Pioneer Association

Crook County—Crook County Pioneer Association; Northern Black Hills Pioneers' Association

Fremont County—Fremont County Pioneer Association

Hot Springs County—The Pioneer Association of Thermopolis

Johnson County ) Pioneers' Association of Johnson  
and ) and Sheridan Counties

Sheridan County )

Laramie County—The Cheyenne Pioneer Club

Natrona—Natrona County Historical Society

Niobrara—Niobrara County Pioneer Association;

Robbers' Roost Historical Association

Platte—Guernsey Old Timers' Association

Sweetwater—Sweetwater Historical Society

Southern Wyoming—Union Pacific Oldtimers' Club

### Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties, Wyoming

By Anna B. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer

In compiling a history of this association, it seems proper and fitting that we turn back the pages to its earliest inception in order to give just credit and praise to the stalwart, courageous



and honorable citizens who were the first to perfect an organization. In doing so, we feel justified in making copies of the minutes of the first several meetings.

The Old Settlers Club met August 30, 1902, in the City Hall, Sheridan, Wyoming, as a result of a call for a meeting for the purpose of forming an organization of the old settlers. Honorable J. D. Loucks was made temporary chairman and Carl L. Sackett, temporary secretary. A resolution was passed that an organization should be formed. It was decided that the name should be "Pioneer Club of Sheridan County". The qualification of membership was fixed as follows:

Any member or person may join who has been a resident of Sheridan and Johnson Counties for twenty-one years and who is now a resident of Sheridan County, upon paying a membership fee of one dollar. A committee of three was appointed by the President (upon motion) to draft a constitution and by-laws for the club, and were requested to report at the next meeting. The committee was as follows: J. G. Hunter, T. J. Foster and Carl L. Sackett.

On motion it was decided that the chairman and secretary protem should continue as such until further provision should be made, and that the secretary should act as historian. Meeting adjourned to meet two weeks from date, at the same office.

\* \* \*

On September 13, 1902, The Pioneer Club of Sheridan County met, pursuant to adjournment of August 30th, at the City Hall at 2:15 p.m. . . . .

The committee on constitution and by-laws reported. The report was accepted, and after being carefully considered and amended, was adopted.

On motion, the meeting proceeded to elect officers under the constitution. Honorable J. D. Loucks was chosen President; Honorable T. J. Foster, Vice-President; Mr. Carl L. Sackett, Secretary; Mr. J. G. Hunter, Treasurer.

The President appointed to complete the Executive Committee, Mr. S. H. Hardin, C. W. Skinner and C. H. Grinnell. The meeting adjourned to meet at call of the President at any time before the annual dinner.

\* \* \*

On September 20, 1902, the Executive Committee met, with the following present: S. H. Hardin, J. D. Loucks, J. G. Hunter and Carl L. Sackett, Mr. Hanna and Mr. Burkitt.

Motion to appoint committee of three to obtain proposition for dinner and room for meeting carried; T. J. Foster, J. D. Loucks and Carl L. Sackett, committee. Adjourned.



On October 29, 1903, the second annual banquet of the Old Settlers Club was held in Masonic Temple, at Sheridan, Wyoming.

The meeting was called to order by the President, J. D. Loucks and the following officers were elected:

President, S. H. Hardin; Vice President, Mrs. Robert Foote; Secretary, Mrs. Harrison Fulmer; Treasurer, T. J. Foster.

The President then appointed C. W. Skinner, Mrs. J. Dana Adams, Mrs. Robert Foote, members of the Executive Committee.

The motion properly made and seconded was then carried that George W. Holdridge, Captain Cross, Algernon S. Patrick, George T. Beck, Captain H. E. Palmer, be elected honorary members of the Old Settlers Club.

A motion was made and then carried that the second Thursday in every October be the date for holding the annual meeting and banquet of the Old Settlers of Sheridan and Johnson Counties.

A motion was properly made and carried that a committee be appointed by the chair to draw up and present to the members of the family of Mrs. Nellie Willets Wood, appropriate resolutions of condolence and sympathy, and that the said resolutions be spread upon the records of the club as an expression of sorrow of the demise of this member. The committee appointed was Mrs. Fulmer, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Wagner.

A motion was made and seconded that the Secretary purchase a book<sup>1</sup> in which to preserve the minutes of the meetings of the Club. The meeting adjourned.

\* \* \*

This Club continued to hold its annual meetings each year for twelve consecutive years, the last meeting being held November 10, 1915.

The third annual meeting was held at the YWCA rooms on October 20, 1904. At that meeting, owing to inability to find an original copy of the constitution and by-laws of the Club, on motion duly carried, J. H. Burgess, J. D. Loucks and Carl L. Sackett were appointed by the chair to draw up a new constitution and by-laws, with instructions to report to the Executive Committee as soon as possible.

President Hardin proposed that the sons and daughters of the Old Settlers form themselves into a club, and meet with the Old Settlers each year.

Election of officers this year resulted as follows: President, Harrison Fulmer; Vice President, Mrs. C. J. Hogerson; 2nd Vice

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1. The above described book has contained the minutes of every meeting during this long period of years, and will be completely filled when the minutes of the 1941 annual meeting are entered therein.

President, J. D. Loucks; Secretary, T. J. Foster; Treasurer, O. J. Smyth.

President Harrison Fulmer then appointed the Executive Committee for the next year, as follows: J. E. Holland, Mrs. Willis M. Spear, Mrs. T. J. Foster and Abe Abrahams.

Also at this meeting, on motion of W. E. Jackson, duly carried, O. J. Smyth, Mrs. W. T. Davis, T. J. Foster, W. E. Jackson and Harry Fulmer were appointed a committee to place upon our rolls the names of all who have lived in and helped to develop the counties of Sheridan and Johnson, and in addition, to determine as to who are eligible as honorary members of the Old Settlers Club.

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On October 14, 1905, the fourth annual reunion of the Old Settlers Club met in the YMCA Rooms, Loucks Building, Sheridan, at 10:00 a.m., and was called to order by President Harrison Fulmer . . . .

On motion duly carried, the Committee on Genealogy, consisting of O. J. Smyth, Mrs. W. F. Davis, T. J. Foster, W. E. Jackson and Harry Fulmer, was continued for one year.

The Constitution and by-laws submitted by the committee appointed for the purpose at the last meeting was read and adopted.

C. G. Coutant, was by vote of the Club duly elected to honorary membership.

Officers elected at this meeting were the following: President, L. H. Brooks; Vice President, Mrs. Robert Foote; 2nd Vice President, J. D. Loucks; Secretary, T. J. Foster; Treasurer, J. D. Adams.

On motion, S. H. Hardin, J. D. Loucks and T. J. Foster were appointed a committee to work with and assist the Historian (Coutant) in organizing a Historical Society of Northern Wyoming.

Dinner was served by the Methodist Ladies Aid Society.

Carl L. Sackett, S. W. Hall and Mrs. G. M. Stevenson were appointed in addition to the officers, as members of the Executive Committee.

Robert Foote, Sr., at the close of the dinner, made some very appropriate remarks on the subject of Old Settlers, with reminiscences in connection therewith, and was followed by several others, including O. P. Hanna.

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On October 19, 1906, the fifth annual meeting of the Club met in the City Hall, at Sheridan, at 10:00 a.m., and was called to order by the President, L. H. Brooks . . . . . The address of welcome was delivered by the President<sup>t</sup>, and responded to by Robert Foote.

Officers elected were as follows: President, O. P. Hanna; Vice President, Mrs. John McRea; 2nd Vice President, W. C. Dinwiddie; Treasurer, J. D. Adams; Secretary, Mrs. W. M. Spear.

Dinner was served by the Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the City Hall.

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On October 10, 1907, the sixth annual meeting was held at the Carnegie Library, with O. P. Hanna, President, presiding. At this meeting a suggestion was made that the year for eligibility for membership be extended for one year, but the matter was laid on the table.

A motion was made by Mr. Loucks, seconded by Mr. Hardin, that we have a Historical Committee to be appointed by the President. Motion carried. A suggestion was made by Mrs. Hanna and Willis Spear that we should have a lot and build a log cabin to hold our meetings in and make a typical "Old Settlers Home" in which to keep our historical mementoes and pictures of our club members, which was received with enthusiasm by the Club.

O. J. Smyth and J. D. Loucks offered to give the land for such a purpose, and a vote of thanks was tendered them by the Club . . . . A motion was made and carried to appoint committee on a permanent home for the Club. Committee appointed: O. J. Smyth, S. H. Hardin and John E. Holland. Committee on Biography: J. D. Loucks, Mrs. Willis Spear and W. E. Jackson.

A vote of thanks was given to O. J. Smyth and Judge Hunter for deed to a burial lot for old settlers who have no relatives or friends here.

The banquet that year was served by the ladies of the Congregational Circle in the Odd Fellows Hall, and a very interesting program was carried out.

Officers elected: President, W. E. Jackson; Vice President, W. C. Dinwiddie; 2nd Vice President, Robert Foote, Sr.; Secretary, Mrs. V. Belle Spear; Treasurer, J. D. Adams.

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On October 31, 1908, the seventh annual meeting was held in the Carnegie Club Room, with W. E. Jackson, President, presiding.

Reports of committees were called for and Building Committee reported by Mr. Hardin that on account of the financial flurry, nothing had been done in regard to a building. It was suggested by Mr. Loucks that we should try to get a site for the building near the old crossing of Big Goose where the first stage station stood, which was generally approved and a motion was made by Mr. Hanna that the present building com-

mittee be continued and in the absence of Mr. Holland another member of the committee be appointed by the President. George P. Webster was appointed to fill the vacancy.

■ The following officers were elected: President, W. C. Dinwiddie; Vice President, George Brundage; 2 nd Vice President, T. J. Foster; Treasurer, J. D. Adams; Secretary, Mrs. V. Belle Spear.

A banquet was held at Odd Fellows Hall, served by the ladies of the Congregational Circle.

Mr. Jackson's sudden illness prevented his giving his address, and Mrs. Willits gave a glowing account of the Women Pioneers and Honorable J. D. Loucks told of the first election in Sheridan. Miss Merle Hanna entertained us with a piano solo, and Miss Bessie May sang, "The Spirit of Spring," accompanied by Mrs. William V. Johnson.

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On October 30, 1909, the eight annual meeting was held at the Carnegie Library Club room, and was presided over by W. C. Dinwiddie, President.

Reports of committees were called for and responded to as follows:

Building Committee: Mr. Hardin, chairman, reported that Mr. Smyth's offer still held good, if the Club would place building there. Motion made by Mr. Hanna that we accept Mr. Smyth's offer of a lot and build a club house on it. Motion carried. Discussion of what kind of a club house we should have and a rising vote taken. Log house was decided upon. A Building Committee was then appointed, consisting of S. H. Hardin, J. A. Moore, O. P. Hanna, L. H. Brooks, Harrison Fulmer.

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A committee to arrange for an annual ball was appointed, consisting of the following members: S. H. Hardin, L. H. Brooks, and W. C. Dinwiddie, to act in conjunction with the City Mayor and Mr. Denio, Mr. Canfield and Mr. Diefenderfer. Proceeds of ball to be used in building club house. Mrs. J. D. Adams, Mrs. May Howard and Mrs. W. M. Spear were appointed a committee to arrange for a play, the proceeds to be used for the building of the club house.

Officers elected: President, George W. Brundage; Vice President, Mrs. William Garrard; 2nd Vice President, J. W. Kirkpatrick; Treasurer, T. J. Foster; Secretary, Mrs. Willis M. Spear.

A motion was made and carried that all present residents of Johnson and Sheridan Counties who were residents of this state previous to January 1, 1883, should be eligible to membership in this Club.

A banquet was served in the Methodist Church basement by the Ladies Aid. An address was given by President Dinwiddie, and responded to by Mr. Hardin. Mr. Reynolds was absent and Mrs. Jackson entertained us with an account of the first school house and school in this County in 1881, and rang the bell that was used at that time. Returning to the Carnegie Club Room, the club members were entertained by tableaux illustrative of incidents in Pioneer life, given by the Old Settlers Children and conducted by Mrs. Dana Adams. Mrs. Adams gave a very humorous reading in the Scotch dialect; Mrs. G. M. Stevenson read a story told in verse by G. W. Benton (the first minister in this county), entitled, "The Maid of Shian". Miss Elsie Spear rendered a musical selection on the piano, and Mrs. Diefenderfer sang delightfully for us.

On October 29, 1910, the ninth annual meeting was held at the Carnegie Library Club Rooms, and was presided over by George Brundage, President.

Hon. Mr. Hardin of the building committee reported that "the City talks of presenting the old school house to the club, but no one is in favor of accepting it."

J. A. Moore mentioned that H. A. Coffeen had a lot which might be available for a building. Mr. Hunter and Mr. Brooks were appointed as a committee to see Mr. Coffeen about the lot. Mr. Hardin, who reported on the Annual Ball, stated that no hall was available. Mr. Coffeen was then escorted in and said the lot in question was the first lot across the bridge on Park Street and that he would donate the lot to the club providing it would be used for the purpose of building a club house for the Old Settlers Club. After visiting the lot in company with Mr. Coffeen the committee reported back that they "thought the lot most available of any." Mr. Brooks moved that the Club accept the lot on Park Street. A committee of five, comprising: L. H. Brooks, H. A. Coffeen, J. A. Moore, O. P. Hanna and S. H. Hardin, was appointed to "work out and decide on the building of the club house."

Officers elected: President, J. G. Hunter; Vice President, George Lord; 2nd Vice President, Mrs. Rulmer; Secretary, Mrs. Willis M. Spear; Treasurer, T. J. Foster.

A banquet, prepared by the ladies of the Episcopal Guild, was served to sixty-nine members and guests. The Invocation was given by Rev. Gillespie. Hon. George Brundage gave a short address of welcome which was responded to by Hon. L. H. Brooks, after which the club returned to the club room to continue the meeting. Musical numbers were given as follows: violin solo, by Miss Pauline Jackson, accompanied by Miss Norma Wilson; vocal solo, Miss Georgia Gideon; violin solo, Fred Decker, accompanied by Mrs. Decker; vocal solo, Mrs. Levers.



On October 28, 1911, the tenth annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held in the Carnegie Club Room with President J. G. Hunter presiding.

In giving the report of the Building Committee, Hon. L. H. Brooks said that "It was thought too much expense would be incurred in grading and filling the lot on Park Street, so nothing had been done towards building."

O. J. Smyth then proposed that the club buy the Country Club, saying that he would donate part of the purchase price, \$1,600.00 for the lot and building, the lot being 50 x 140 ft., and the building, 15 x 45 ft. It was suggested that a committee be sent to look over the building and to determine whether it would be practicable. A motion to that effect was carried and the following were appointed to visit the Country Club, after the banquet: S. H. Hardin, George Brundage, Henry Schuler, L. H. Brooks, Stephen Hall. The flower committee reported that nine bouquets of flowers had been sent during the year to members of the club.

Mrs. May Howard reported the addition of \$100.00 to the club's funds, as proceeds from a play given in December, 1910.

A beautiful silver toilet set was presented by the Club to the Secretary.

Officers Elected: President, T. J. Foster; Vice President, Mrs. Wm. Garrard; 2nd Vice President, O. J. Smyth; Secretary, Mrs. W. M. Spear; Treasurer, Mrs. L. E. Martin.

At the banquet, held at Odd Fellows Hall, prepared by the ladies of the Baptist Mission Circle, President Hunter delivered "an eloquent address of welcome," which was responded to by Senator Hardin. Adjourning to the Lodge Hall the club was entertained by vocal selections from Mrs. Diefenderfer and readings by Miss Dorothy Burns. "On the Overland Trail" was read by Mrs. Spear. An invitation was given by Mrs. A. B. Clark, President of the Sheridan Women's Club, in behalf of the Landmark Section of that club, to appoint a committee to confer with the Landmark Committee relative to placing suitable markers on the Bozeman Trail, "where historical events have taken place." The following committee for this purpose was appointed: Colonel Hardin, Hon. H. A. Coffeen and Mrs. John Winterling. Colonel Hardin, Chairman of the Building Committee, reported that they had found the house at the Country Club inadequate for the needs of the Old Settlers Club and that they were compelled to report adversely on Mr. Smyth's proposition. "Thanks were extended to Mr. Smyth and to the ladies who entertained us." Sixty-five members and guests were present at the banquet.

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On October 31, 1912, the eleventh annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at the Carnegie Library, with President T. J. Foster presiding.

The Flower Committee reported thirteen bouquets and floral pieces sent to the sick and bereaved members of the club.

Officers elected: President, D. T. Hilman; Vice President, Mrs. Harrison Fulmer; 2nd Vice President, C. W. Garbutt; Secretary, Mrs. W. M. Spear; Treasurer, L. E. Martin.

A discussion of a picnic for next meeting was brought to a favorable conclusion with a vote to have the Executive Committee set the time for a picnic in the summer of 1913.

A banquet was held in the Odd Fellows Hall.

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On November 10, 1915, the twelfth annual meeting was held at Odd Fellows Hall, with Mrs. C. W. Garbutt presiding. Mrs. W. M. Spear served as Secretary, and Mrs. L. E. Martin, Treasurer.

Following the banquet, plans for the next year were discussed and Col. S. H. Hardin, L. H. Brooks and George Lord were named as a committee to arrange for a ball at the next reunion. H. E. Zullig was appointed official Historian to secure data concerning the members of the club.

At the close of the business session the following program was given: J. D. Loucks, Invocation; Elsa Spear, piano solo; Olga Moore, recitation; W. L. Prentiss, solo; Mrs. Dora Adams, recitation; Mrs. David Williams, solo; and the singing of "Wyoming" by the audience.

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The Old Settlers Club ceased to hold regular annual meetings for the next eight years.

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On September 15, 1923, at the called meeting held at the Sim Smith Pavillion, at Story, Wyoming, for the purpose of reorganizing the club, a resolution was adopted, making eligible to membership all those settling here prior to January 1, 1886.

This meeting was presided over by Mr. George Lord, President, with H. E. Zullig acting as Secretary, pro tem, due to the absence of Mrs. Willis M. Spear, the Secretary.

A committee composed of L. H. Brooks, Mrs. May Howard and H. E. Zullig was appointed to act in conjunction with the Executive Committee, consisting of George Lord, President, Mrs. W. G. Griffen, Vice President, Mrs. W. M. Spear, Secretary, and Mrs. L. E. Martin, Treasurer, as a committee on arrangements for the next annual meeting to be held in October, 1923. This committee met at the home of L. H. Brooks on September 18, 1923, and made arrangements to hold the annual meeting at the Odd Fellow Hall, with each member bringing a picnic dinner, and a program given in the Lodge Room afterwards, consisting of: Song, "Wyoming," Address of Welcome, by L. H. Brooks; Chorus, Mrs. Wulfjen; Early Stories, Illustrated, by

Anna B. Smith; Solo, Dorothy Burns; Old Settlers Song, words by Mrs. C. Wulfjen; Talks by any of the members who can be induced to speak.

No record appears of this annual meeting.

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On August 17, 1924, the annual meeting and picnic was held at Lodore Pavillion. The meeting was called to order at 2:30 P.M. by Ellery D. Foster, President, who made a pleasing address of welcome and thanked the various committees for their hearty efforts in making this reunion a success.

Discussion on advisability of building a Club House in Pioneer Park at Sheridan, or elsewhere, was held, but no action taken.

Mrs. O. P. Hanna, one of our old settlers, now residing at Long Beach, California, was present, and in appreciation of their worth and esteem, it was voted to elect Mr. and Mrs. Oliver P. Hanna honorary members of this club.

Election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows: President, Ellery D. Foster; Vice President, J. F. Kirkpatrick; Secretary, H. E. Zullig; Treasurer, Mrs. Minnie Martin.

The President appointed the following committees: Executive Committee: W. G. Griffen; May D. Howard; Andrew Kennedy. Floral and Sick Committee: May D. Howard.

A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. and Mrs. Sim Smith for their courtesy in permitting the use of their pavillion, and responded to by Mrs. Smith, assuring the club of her pleasure in having us with her.

The following program was then given: Song, "Wyoming," by the Club; Resume by Historian, Mrs. Jennie G. Metz; Reminiscences of Early-day Events, Mr. L. H. Brooks, Fred B. Ramsey, Mrs. Jennie Winterling; Group of Songs, Miss Dorothy Burns, accompanied by Mrs. H. C. Edwards; Experiences of Pioneer Women: the First Wedding, Mrs. Virginia B. Spear, First School Bell, Mrs. Amanda Jackson, Experiences of First Settler's Wife, Mrs. O. P. Hanna, Honeymoon Trip, Mrs. L. H. Brooks; Group of Songs, Pioneer Quartette; Stunts and Songs in Early-day Costumes, Banjo and Guitar Accompaniments, Junior Auxiliary; Auld Lang Syne, by the Club.

On July 30, and August 4, 1925, preliminary meetings for making arrangements for the annual meeting of 1925 were held, and the following committees on arrangements appointed: Committee on Arrangements: May D. Howard, George Griffen, Mrs. Clara Reynolds; Program Committee: Mrs. Anna B. Smith, who was to select her assistants.

Arrangements were made to hold the annual meeting and picnic at Lodore Pavillion on August 25, 1925. No record of this annual meeting appears. However, minutes of subsequent

meetings indicate that Mr. C. P. Story (for whom the town of Story was named) was elected president.

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On August 8, 1926, the annual meeting and reunion of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore, with the President, Mr. Charles P. Story, presiding.

The following officers were elected: President, Charles P. Story; Vice President, W. S. Metz; Secretary, Mrs. Jennie Winterling; Treasurer, Mrs. Lulu Griffen.

The President appointed the following committees:

Building and Grounds: J. B. Kendrick, L. H. Brooks, Homer Loucks, W. S. Metz, Mrs. May Howard, Mrs. Willis Spear, Mrs. George Lord, Mrs. John Telander.

Executive Committee: Mrs. Ethel Morris, Mrs. Ida Laub Hough, Herbert Zullig.

Auditing Committee: W. G. Griffen, Carl Sackett, Ellery Foster.

Membership Committee: Mrs. L. E. Martin, Gregory Stroud, Alf Diefenderfer, Henry Nietman.

Floral Committee: Mrs. May D. Howard.

Historian: Mrs. Jennie G. Metz.

The meeting was then turned over to Anna B. Smith, Chairman, Program Committee. She presented a most enjoyable entertainment. We were glad to have Oliver P. Hanna of California, one of our first members, with us. Since Mr. O. P. Hanna was considered the First White Settler in this part of Wyoming, his presence was the inspiration for the program. A sketch was prepared by the Program Chairman, in which Mr. Hanna, dressed in his buckskins of early days, was depicted as the "First Settler" sitting in front of his cabin, where, after singing his old favorite song, "Joe Bowers" fell asleep and dreamed of the happy days of his youth before coming to the great west. As he dreamed, one by one his old sweethearts came through the cabin door. These characters were taken by the following young ladies, dressed in old fashioned costumes: Olga Moore, Iris and Beth Wood, Ruth Burns, Ruth Newcomer, and others. As each "old sweetheart" emerged, Ethel Virgin O'Neill sang an old song, such as "My Nellie's Blue Eyes," "Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt," Etc. The effect was most pleasing, and no one enjoyed the acting more than did Mr. Hanna.

A special guest on that occasion was Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, who made some appropriate comments in her usual charming manner.

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On August 7, 1927, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore Pavillion, Story, Wyoming, with the President, Charles P. Story, presiding.



At that meeting, eligibility for membership was extended one year. The matter of a club house was again discussed.

The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. John Winterling; Vice President, W. G. Griffen; Secretary, Mrs. May D. Howard; Treasurer, Clyde R. Wood.

With an appropriate address, Mr. Charles P. Story surrendered the chair to the new President, Mrs. Winterlin', who accepted it with fitting remarks, and proceeded to appoint her standing committees, as follows:

Building and Grounds: Chairman, Carl L. Sackett, Charles P. Story, John Early, Gregg Stroud, Mrs. Clara Reynolds, Mrs. John Teland, Mrs. H. Burns, Mrs. Morgarredige, May D. Howard.

Floral Committee: Mrs. Lyman Brooks.

Auditing Committee: Carl L. Sackett and Herbert Zullig.

Program Committee: Mrs. J. C. Van Dyke and Mrs. L. E. Martin.

Membership Committee: Mrs. A. L. Garber, Mrs. Ethel Morris, Mrs. Minnie Eubank

Historian: Mrs. W. S. Metz, to be assisted by Mrs. Vie Willits Garber.

Mrs. Metz, the historian, gave a talk about the "Teepee Book," compiled by Mr. Herbert Coffeen, and urged the club to secure a set.

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On August 12, 1928, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at Story, Wyoming, and was presided over by the President, Mrs. John Winterling.

The following officers were elected: President, W. G. Griffen; Vice President, G. W. Stroud; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Clyde Wood.

The Building Committee gave their report, and it was voted on and carried that the club house would be built, but the plans were not complete and the building committee was asked to go ahead and finish plans. A committee was appointed: Judge Metz, L. H. Brooks and Clyde Wood, to meet a committee of Mrs. J. C. Van Dyke, A. Brock and Fred Hesse of the Buffalo Club, in regard to the Club House Building. Senator John B. Kendrick gave a very interesting talk, and suggested that a full basement be put under the main building to be used as a museum, and offered a very generous donation towards the building.

Among those from Buffalo were John R. Smith, of 1869, Mrs. Hand DeVoe, 1879, and Mr. Ryan, who was with the troops of Old Fort Phil Kearny.

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On August 25, 1929, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at Peter's Pavillion, Story, Wyoming, with the president, W. G. Griffen, presiding.



Mr. L. H. Brooks reported for the Building Committee, stating that nothing had been done because of no funds on hand. He stated, "Before we can build a club house, we should have one-half of the funds on hand."

President, W. G. Griffen, expressed the opinion that the club needs a building or some proper place to store relics of days gone by; that many would not wish to contribute such relics without a proper place to take care of them.

The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. H. Burns; Vice President, Gregg Stroud; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris.

A very interesting program was then enjoyed by those present; a group of songs, by Miss Dorothy Burns, accompanied by Mrs. James Wherry.

Mr. J. R. Smith, a visitor, who came to Wyoming in 1866, was then introduced by Mr. L. H. Brooks. Mr. Smith, in a very interesting manner, related some of his early-day experiences with Indians.

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On August 17, 1930, the annual picnic and business meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at the Presbyterian Cabins, near Story, Wyoming, and called to order by Mrs. H. Burns, President, and H. E. Zullig, acting Secretary.

Mrs. Jennie G. Metz read a very interesting article written May 18, 1876, by Mary A. Manley, then a young girl in Fort Abraham Lincoln, located opposite Bismarck, North Dakota, and published in St. Nicholas, giving an account of General Custer leaving the Post on his last and fatal expedition. Mary A. Manley later became Mrs. Judge Parmlee and wrote an article published by the late Herbert A. Coffeen in the Teepee Book, and also read by Mrs. Metz. This article being a latter account of the leaving of Custer and his men, and of the first news of the massacre. Mrs. Metz also read a toast by Mrs. Dabney Scales to Sheridan County Pioneers, which was heartily received, and a rising vote of thanks was tendered Mrs. Scales.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mrs. Clara Burns; Vice President, Mrs. Minnie Eubank; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris.

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On August 30, 1931, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at the Story Community House, when a delicious chicken dinner was served by the members of the Story Women's Club. The business meeting was presided over by the President, Mrs. Clara D. Burns.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mrs. Helen Dow; Vice President, Carl L. Sackett; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris.

Attention was called to the importance of preserving old relics. Anna B. Smith reported that permission had been obtained from the County Commissioners to use space in the Court House for this purpose. The Vice President, who had taken the chair, appointed the following committee to arrange a place for old relics: A. P. Dow, Chairman; Anna B. Smith, Minnie J. Martin, Clifford Woodley, Dolph Yonkee. Thereafter, the meeting adjourned and was followed by a very excellent program consisting of musical numbers and very interesting talks by various early settlers present.

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On September 11, 1932, the annual picnic and business meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at the Story Community House. The meeting was called to order by the Vice President, Carl L. Sackett. Greetings were extended to the members by Mrs. Helen Dow, President, who was too feeble to preside over the meeting.

A very excellent program followed, consisting of a group of piano numbers by Carl Sackett, Jr.; a group of songs by Dorothy Burns, several of which were composed by Charles Badger Clark and set to music by Elsa Spear Edwards; Miss Lucile Patterson was the accompanist for Miss Burns and also for Miss Beryl Ladd, who charmingly played a group of airs of the old songs on the slide trombone.

Mrs. W. S. Metz, the Historian, read a very interesting account of the early experiences of the T. J. Foster family. There were also reminiscences of early days by many of those present, which were very interesting.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mr. W. P. Ricketts; Vice President, Mr. A. L. Brock; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris.

On September 3, 1933, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore, and was presided over by the President, Mr. W. P. Ricketts.

The following officers were elected: President, Mr. A. L. Brock; Vice President, Mr. N. W. Chassell; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mrs. W. S. Metz.

A very delightful program had been arranged by Miss Dorothy Burns and consisted of the following: a group of songs by Mrs. Beatrice Marsden, piano accompaniment by her sister, Miss Lucile Patterson; an original poem in honor of the Pioneers, composed and read by Miss Catherine Petrofsky; a group of saxophone numbers played by Miss Beryl Ladd, piano accompaniment by Miss Lucile Patterson.

Reminiscences were then in order and because of the feeble condition of Mr. Dave Cummings, who came to Wyoming in

1875, Mr. A. L. Brock related some of his early experiences in the west, among which were his assisting in mounding soldiers' graves, following the Custer Massacre, and how he had very recently returned to the scene of his early experiences and had been able to locate every spot familiar to him in those former years.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Metz, Mr. Brock presented a compilation of names of early settlers dating back to 1854. This was placed on file and a rising vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Brock. Other reminiscences were given by Mrs. F. G. S. Hesse, Mrs. May Gardner, Mr. Ricketts, Mrs. Winterling and Mrs. Chassell. A bouquet of flowers was presented to Mrs. Ira Buell in honor of her being the lady who had lived the longest in Wyoming.

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On September 2, 1934, the annual meeting and picnic of the Old Settlers Club was held at the Lodore Dining Room.

Upon calling the meeting to order, greetings were extended by the President, Mr. A. L. Brock.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Edward Burnett; Vice President, Willis M. Spear; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mrs. W. S. Metz.

The following program was then rendered: a tribute to the memory of Senator John B. Kendrick and to Judge W. S. Metz by Mr. Carl L. Sackett; a group of piano and violin numbers by the Hewitt Sisters; a group of readings by Mr. Howard Watt; a group of old songs, by Mr. E. G. Guyer, accompanied by Mrs. Guyer; reminiscences by Mr. Edward Burnett; old time fiddling by Mr. Edgar Simmons, accompanied by Ross Sackett; old time songs by Mr. Willis M. Spear; reminiscences by Mr. W. P. Ricketts, presented by Mrs. Ricketts; reminiscences by Mrs. Cullen Watt, and a beautiful poem entitled, "When It's Sunset O'er the Big Horns," composed by her, sung by her son, Mr. Howard Watt, who played his own piano accompaniment.

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On September 8, 1935, the annual meeting and picnic of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore Pavillion. In the absence of the President, the meeting was presided over by the Vice President, Mr. Willis M. Spear.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mr. Willis M. Spear; Vice President, Herbert E. Zullig; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mrs. W. S. Metz.

The matter of the importance of preserving historical sketches now in the possession of pioneers was stressed by Mr. H. E. Zullig, and each member of the club was urged to lend

assistance to the Historian in the gathering of data that will augment early history compiled by the State Historian.

The matter of extending the date of eligibility for membership in the club was discussed at some length, whereupon, a motion was duly made and carried that qualification for membership in this club be as follows: "Any person arriving in Wyoming prior to January 1st, 1892, shall be eligible to membership in this club."

The following program was then enjoyed: a group of songs by Walter Nye, accompanied by his son, Bob Nye; Early Experiences in the West by Mr. L. F. Johnston; History of Early Indian Warfare with the facts concerning the Wagon Box Fight by Mr. T. James Gatchell; Old Fashioned Fiddling by Mr. Edgar Simmins; description of a trip to Yellowstone Park 40 years ago by Mrs. Cullen Watt; old time songs by Mr. Willis M. Spear.

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On September 13, 1936, the annual meeting and picnic of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore Pavillion, with the President, Mr. Willis M. Spear, presiding.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mr. H. E. Zullig; Vice President, Mr. C. N. Walters; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mr. T. James Gatchell.

In commenting upon the importance of placing suitable historical markers in proper places in Northern Wyoming, Mr. Edward Burnett suggested that an effort be made by this organization to secure funds from the State Historical Society for this purpose; whereupon a motion was duly made and carried that a formal letter be sent to Mr. B. B. Brooks, Governor Miller and other members of the State Historical Society, from this organization, urging that funds be provided for proper historical markers.

A very lengthy musical program was carried out and interesting reminiscences were given by Mr. L. F. Johnston, Mrs. Emily DeWitt, Mr. A. L. Brock, and Mr. Edward Burnett.

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On August 8, 1937, the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Club was held at Lodore Pavillion, and was presided over by the President, Mr. H. E. Zullig, who extended cordial greetings to the club, expressing his pleasure at such a large and splendid gathering.

Officers elected for the ensuing year were as follows: President, Mr. C. N. Walters; Vice President, Mr. C. L. Spracklen; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mr. T. James Gatchell.

Mr. Zullig, the President, gave a very fine talk about Independence Rock and its historical value not only to Wyoming,



but to the settling of the northwest, and proposed that steps be taken to preserve the names carved thereon and prevent any defacement of this famous rock.

A very nice program of musical numbers was then enjoyed and reminiscences of early-day experiences given by Mr. Edward Burnett, Mr. J. Elmer Brock, Mr. C. N. Walters, Mr. Carl L. Sackett and Mrs. J. C. Van Dyke.

\* \* \*

On August 28, 1938, the annual meeting and picnic of the Old Settlers Club of Johnson and Sheridan Counties was held at Lodore. The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. C. N. Walters, and was opened with prayer by the Reverend Donald G. Smith, and greetings were extended by the President.

At this meeting a new Constitution and By-Laws were adopted and the name of the organization changed to "Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties, Wyoming."

Eligibility for membership remains the same and provision is made in the constitution for life membership.

A very pleasing musical program was given and early day reminiscences by a great many of the pioneers.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Frank R. Spracklen; Vice President, J. Elmer Brock; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris; Historian, T. James Gatchell; Board of Directors, N. W. Chassell, Minnie J. Martin, Clyde R. Wood, Olive C. Walters, Herbert E. Zullig.

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On August 27, 1931, the annual reunion and picnic of the Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties was held at the Story Community House, Story, Wyoming. This meeting was presided over by the President, Mr. Frank R. Spracklen, who extended cordial greetings to the club.

The matter of using the building fund for the purpose of providing a suitable place for storing old relics was gone into quite thoroughly at this meeting, and the executive committee instructed to look into the matter thoroughly and report back to the organization.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Mr. J. Elmer Brock; Vice President, Mr. Bert L. Dow; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris; Historian, T. James Gatchell; Board of Directors, N. W. Chassell, Minnie J. Martin, Clyde R. Wood, Olive C. Walters, Herbert E. Zullig.

The program consisted of the following: a Gypsy Operetta, Senior Chorus of Wyoming Girls' School; discourse on Early History and Early Pioneers by Dr. William Frackelton; group



of old songs by Mrs. Grant MacLeod, accompanied by Miss Patricia MacLeod; group of songs by Mr. L. R. Tyson, accompanied by Mrs. Everett Shores.

\* \* \*

On August 25, 1940, the annual meeting of the Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties, Wyoming, was held at the Community House, Story, Wyoming, and was presided over by the President, Mr. J. Elmer Brock, who, in a very able manner extended cordial greetings to the club.

At this meeting a donation of \$10.00 was made to the Father DeSmet Monument Fund.

The matter of using our building fund for the purpose of erecting a suitable place for the preservation of old relics was again brought up for discussion and a committee of two appointed to look into the matter.

Election of officers resulted as follows: President, Mr. Bert L. Dow; Vice President, Mr. Howard B. Lott; Secretary, Mrs. Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethel H. Morris; Historian, Mr. T. James Gatchell; Board of Directors, Mrs. Ida Laub Hough, Mrs. Minnie J. Martin, Mr. Clyde R. Wood, Mrs. Olive C. Walters, Mrs. Herbert E. Zullig.

A very excellent sketch covering historical events incident to the establishing of the Oregon Trail and other outstanding history which took place in the immediate vicinity of this meeting place, was given by Mr. T. James Gatchell, Historian of the Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties, Wyoming. This sketch will be preserved as a part of the records of this organization.

Mr. Russell Thorp, of Cheyenne, who was born in Wyoming in 1877, and who, at this meeting took out a Life Membership in this organization, gave a very interesting talk on early experiences in Wyoming.

Dr. William Frackelton, in his customary manner, pleased the audience with one of his favorite Indian stories.

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On August 31, 1941, the annual reunion and picnic of the Pioneer Association of Johnson and Sheridan Counties was held at the Story Community House, with the President, Mr. Bert L. Dow, presiding. Cordial greetings were extended to the club by the President.

A very comprehensive report was made by the Building Committee, and authority given to the building committee in conjunction with the executive committee to "take such steps as they see fit for the erection of a building at Fort Phil Kearny."

Mr. Charles J. Oviatt, a member of the State Historical Advisory Board, gave a very interesting and instructive talk

on the work of the State Historical Society,<sup>7</sup> and the importance of preserving historical relics.

The following officers were elected: President, Howard B. Lott; Vice President, Frank A. Kimmel; Secretary, Anna B. Smith; Treasurer, Ethel H. Morris; Historian, T. James Gatchell; Board of Directors, Mrs. Ida Laub Hough, Mrs. Minnie J. Martin, Mr. Clyde R. Wood, Mrs. Olive C. Walters, Mr. Herbert E. Zullig.

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# LIST OF MEMBERS OF PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF JOHNSON AND SHERIDAN COUNTIES, WYOMING

Copied from Records—August 19, 1941

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Abrahams, Abe             | Culver, Mrs. Emma             |
| Affeldt, Wm.              | Crouter, S. E.                |
| Affeldt, Amanda           |                               |
| Austin, Agnes Mills       | Dodge, Amelia                 |
| Anderson, Mrs. Nora Fay   | Duncan, P. A.                 |
| Allen, Orpha Leavitt      | Dunning, W. C.                |
|                           | Dana, Mrs. T. R. (Decd.)      |
| Brock, Mrs. J. Elmer      | Downer, Geo. W. (Decd.)       |
| Buell, Mrs. Ira           | Davis, Jennie (Decd.)         |
| Barr, Mrs. Ethel Warriner | Davis, Mrs. Norman (Decd.)    |
| Bethurem, George          | Dow, Mrs. Jack (Decd.)        |
| Brown, Wm.                | Davis, Mrs. H. Winter (Decd.) |
| Barkey, Ida R.            | Dow, A. P. (Decd.)            |
| Burns, Horatio            | Darlington, A. M.             |
| Burns, Mrs. H.            | Driskill, Mabel               |
| Brooks, L. H. (Decd.)     | Duncan, Mrs. Perry            |
| Brooks, Mrs. L. H.        | Davis, Will L. (Decd.)        |
| Bennett, Lois M.          | Dow, Bert L.                  |
| Beck, Geo. T.             | Eychaner, Frank               |
| Bard, Dick                | Early, J. E.                  |
| Brock, A. L.              | Eubank, Minnie                |
| Brock, Mrs. A. L. (Decd.) | Enochs, Jim (Decd.)           |
| Brundage, G. F. (Decd.)   | Early, Alice G.               |
| Burnett, Edward           |                               |
| Brock, J. Elmer           | Foster, Ellery                |
| Burns, Miss Dorothy       | Foster, Maude                 |
|                           | French, Barbara (Decd)        |
| Churchill, Emma V.        | Fox, Chas. (Decd.)            |
| Chassell, N. W.           | Faddis, Mrs. R. M.            |
| Custis, J. W.             | Frackelton, Dr. Wm.           |
| Cook, J. Emerson          |                               |
| Campbell, David A.        | George, Mrs. Chas. (Decd.)    |

- Griffen, George  
 Griffen, Mrs. Geo.  
 Garber, Vie  
 Gillette, Hallie C. (Decd.)  
 Garrard, Mrs. Wm. (Decd.)  
 Gerdel, Henry (Decd.)  
 Gross, Chris (Decd.)  
 Gross, Mrs. Chris.  
 Gatchell, T. Jas.  
 Gatchell, Mrs. Sula  
 Gardner, May V.  
 Greub, J. N.  
 Howard, May D.  
 Hunter, John W.  
 Hunter, Mrs. John W.  
 Helvey, John D.  
 Hayes, W. H.  
 Hough, Mrs. Ida Laub  
 Hough, H. D. (Decd.)  
 Hughes, Anna  
 Held, Nettie B.  
 Herron, Mercia (Decd.)  
 Herron, Duff (Decd.)  
 Held, Henry, (Decd.)  
 Hilman, D. T. (Decd.)  
 Hilman, Lydia (Decd.)  
 Hesse, F. G. S. (Decd.)  
 Hesse, Mrs. F. G. S.  
 Huggins, James Wm.  
 Holloway, D. E.  
 Hanna, Mrs. O. P.  
 Hewett, L. C.  
 Hall, Mrs. Grace I.  
 Hesse, Vivienne  
 Jackson, Amanda (Decd.)  
 Johnson, John (Decd.)  
 Jenrich, George W.  
 Jenrich, Mrs. Geo. W.  
 Johnson, Mrs. Jane Beck  
 Johnson, Mrs. Jessamin Spear  
 Kendrick, John B. (Decd.)  
 Kendrick, Mrs. John B.  
 Kennedy, Jack  
 Kirpatrick, James (Decd.)  
 Kilbourne, Mary Viall (Decd.)  
 Kerr, Chester  
 Ketcham, B. F. (Decd.)  
 Kimmel, F. A.  
 Langhorst, Mrs. Mary  
 Lord, George (Decd.)  
 Lord, Mrs. Geo.  
 Loucks, Homer  
 Leaverton, Caroline  
 Lamie, R. N. (Decd.)  
 Lott, Howard B.  
 Manlove, Louise H. (Decd.)  
 Morrow, Dave (Decd.)  
 Morgarreidge, Nellie V.  
 Morris, John X. (Decd.)  
 Morris, Ethel H.  
 Martin, L. H. (Decd.)  
 Martin, Minnie J.  
 Metz, W. S. (Decd.)  
 Metz, Jennie G.  
 McPhillamey, Mrs. Fred  
 Metz, Wm. G.  
 Mayer, Johnny  
 Metcalf, Horace  
 Messick, Geo. W. (Decd.)  
 Moore, Mrs. Scott  
 Miller, Bob  
 Neitman, Henry (Decd.)  
 Newcomer, E. V.  
 Newcomer, Mrs. E. V.  
 Nelson, Oscar (Decd.)  
 Nelson, Oscar, Mrs.  
 Newinger, Emma Gerdel  
 Nelson, Mrs. Olaf  
 Owens, F. O.  
 Perkins, B. F. (Decd.)  
 Perkins, Rose H. (Decd.)  
 Perry, Wm. C. (Decd.)  
 Patterson, H. C. (Decd.)  
 Patterson, Rose Dana  
 Reynolds, Clara (Decd.)  
 Roberts, W. A. (Decd.)  
 Roberts, Mrs. W. A.  
 Ramsey, F. B. (Decd.)

- Ricketts, W. P.  
 Robinson, Wm. (Decd.)  
 Reed, Edith E.  
 Rasmussen, R. C.  
 Roberson, Betty Beck  
 Reed, Thelma  
  
 Shickley, Mrs. M. B.  
 Shickley, Mark B.  
 Story, C. P. (Decd.)  
 Story, Mrs. C. P. (Decd.)  
 Stout, T. A. (Decd.)  
 Smith, Mrs. Barney  
 Smith, Anna B.  
 Spracklen, Frank  
 Spracklen, Lillie  
 Smith, Louvina  
 Shreve, O. J. (Decd.)  
 Spear, Willis M. (Decd.)  
 Spear, Mrs. Willis M. (Decd.)  
 Surrena, George (Decd.)  
 Stroud, G. W.  
 Stroud, Mrs. G. W.  
 Stroud, C. B. (Decd.)  
 Schuler, Henry (Decd.)  
 Skinner, C. W. (Decd.)  
 Smith, A. M. (Decd.)  
 Smith, Mrs. Margaret L.  
 Sackett, Clyde  
 Snelling, Mrs. W. E.  
 Sackett, C. L.  
 Sackett, H. O. (Decd.)  
 Storm, C. C.  
 Symons, Edgar (Decd.)  
 Stevenson, John W.  
 Smith, Barney  
 Shaw, A. A. (Decd.)  
 Shaw, Mrs. A. A.  
 Smith, Hattie J.  
 Schilling, Chas.  
 Sonnamaker, Will  
 Sonnamaker, Agnes  
  
 Telander, John V.  
 Telander, Mabel
- Thorn, J. D.  
 Thorn, Mrs. J. D.  
 Tynan, Mrs. T. T.  
 Thain, Thomas  
 Tyson, L. R.  
 Tyson, Mrs. L. R.  
 Thorp, Russell  
 Thompkins, Emma  
  
 Van Dyke, Mrs. J. C.  
  
 White, Reagan  
 West, Mrs. Minnie  
 Weaver, W. A. (Decd.)  
 Weaver, F. L. (Decd.)  
 Winterling, Jennie (Decd.)  
 Weir, John  
 Willets, J. O. (Decd.)  
 Williams, Allen (Decd.)  
 Williams, Mrs. Al.  
 Willey, Fannie B.  
 White, Charles (Decd.)  
 Wood, Daniel J.  
 Woodley, Clifford  
 Woodley, Mrs. Clifford  
 Wood, Clyde R.  
 Williams, Mrs. Kate (Decd.)  
 Woodley, T. J. (Decd.)  
 Watt, Mrs. Cullen  
 Watt, Mrs. Peter  
 Walters, C. N. (Decd.)  
 Williams, Miss Eva  
 Walters, Mrs. C. N.  
 Woodley, Lucile  
 Woodley, E. Kenneth  
 Willey, Mrs. Nellie  
 Walters, Mrs. Olive C.  
 Westman, Orrie  
 Wallace, Wm. H.  
 Warriner, Virga Ladd  
  
 Yonkee, Dolph (Decd.)  
  
 Zullig, Herbert E.  
 Zullig, Mrs. H. E.

## ACCESSIONS

to the  
**WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT**

July 1, 1941, to September 1, 1941.

### Miscellaneous Gifts

- Cheyenne Geology Club (L. C. McWethy, President)—Wyoming mineral collection of 48 items assembled by Mr. Chris Dietz. Also five pieces petrified wood: One piece palm, white pine and oak, and two pieces cottonwood; Dinosaur bone, volite, and Hartville agate; fossil fish.
- Ross, Arthur, Washington, D. C., Secretary, Future Farmers of America. A nail from George Washington's grist mill. Erected in 1760—restored in 1932. Located near Mount Vernon. Now open to the public through the cooperation of the Future Farmers of America of which organization George Washington is a patron saint.
- Secretary of State, Office of, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Daily record books of Wyoming Legislatures; House Journal, 6th Legislative Assembly. House Bills, 1890. Legislature; House Enrolled Acts, 1890.
- Izaak Walton Gun Clubs of Wyoming—Collection of trophies, including loving cups and chains of name-plates, showing winners of various events throughout Wyoming, from 1919 to 1939.
- Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Glass cane made by Laramie Glass Works about 1880's (43" long) for Mrs. William Myers, whose husband was the first dry goods merchant in Cheyenne. Mrs. Myers was the mother of Mrs. Lyman F. Spaulding, of Cheyenne.
- A friend, through J. M. Garrett and Fred Gage, Cheyenne, Wyoming—A silk flag, carried by the 148th Field Artillery, founded upon and from the 3rd Wyoming Infantry, first World War. Regiment sailed for France, January 23, 1918; returning, reached United States, June 15, 1919.
- Crook County Museum, Sundance, Wyoming, through D. B. Hilton, Curator—Three specimens of copper ore from Copper Prince Mine, owned by Alfred Nobbs, Crook County.
- Long, Dr. H. J., Buffalo, Wyoming—American flag, 18 ft. 5 inches x 9 ft. 3½ inches, the last to be flown over old Fort McKinney, 1894.
- Rogers, Ralph, Little Bear, Wyoming—Indian stone maul found by Hugh McDonald, at Diamond, Wyoming, Platte County, about 1930. An unusual specimen 8¾" long.
- Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Indian petroglyph, being a turtle, in colors, which disappeared from Castle Garden ledges, 33 miles south of Casper-Shoshone highway in 1940, and recovered in 1941. Size 18 x 19 inches thick. Weight about 75 lbs.
- U. S. Fish & Wild Life Service, through Carl R. Mueller, of the Department of U. S. Government Management Agent—mounted bald eagle, 64" from tip to tip.
- Skinner, Charles W., Jr., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Copy of "Tribune Extra" of Bismarck, Dakota Territory, July 6, 1876, giving "First Account of Custer Massacre." Printed copy of song "After the Ball," showing copyright.
- Burritt, Edwin M., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Maps, correspondence, and miscellaneous items concerning Independence Rock, from the collection of the late Daniel W. Greenburg. Six copies of book, "Independence Rock" by Robert S. Ellison, and 39 unbound copies of same book.

### Pictures -- Gifts

- Meyer, Charles R., Fort Laramie, Wyoming—Framed picture of Jim Bridger, 8¾" x 10½".



- Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Photograph of her late husband, Edwin J. Smalley, pioneer and sheriff of Laramie County. 4" x 6".
- Olinger, R. I., Newcastle, Wyoming—Nine pictures: Grave of a man named Scott slain by Indians in 1876; marker placed by Newcastle Boy Scouts Troop No. 66, in 1941; two views of a mystic rock located on old Fred Fawcett Ranch, Weston County, Wyoming; postcard photograph of the Jenny Stockade marker, near Newcastle; four kodak pictures of scenes at dedication of Jenney Stockade marker.
- Chamber of Commerce of Pasco, Washington (Mr. Gray Graham, managing secretary)—Three photographs: two views of Sacajawea State Park at Pasco, located at the confluence of the Columbia and Snake rivers and one picture of their new Sacajawea Museum of modern design.
- Hilton, D. B., Curator, Crook County Museum, Sundance, Wyoming—Seven pictures: Interior of Crook County Museum; Jenny Stockade; the last freight team to enter the Black Hills; Sundance in 1890; Custer Trail marker; Group of Indian Petroglyphs in Arch Creek Cave, Crook County; Medicine Creek Cave, Crook County.

#### Books -- Gifts

- Author—Agnes B. Chamberlin. Story of the Cody Club, 1900-1940. Pub. 1940.
- Author—The Most Reverend Patrick A. McGovern, Bishop of Cheyenne. History of the Diocese of Cheyenne. 1941.
- Jenkins, P. W., Big Piney, Wyoming.—Duncan Aikman. Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats. 1927.
- Sowers, Ted C., Supervisor, Wyoming Archaeological Project—Wyoming Projects Administration. Archaeological Quarterly Reports in four typewritten volumes, 1939-1940.

#### Books -- Purchased

- Brininstool, E. A.—The Custer Fight. 1940.
- Johnson, Laura W.—Eight Hundred Miles in an Ambulance. 1899.
- Hanson, Joseph M.—With Carrington on the Bozeman Road. 1912.
- Benton, Frank.—Cowboy Life on the Side Track. 1903.
- Mercer, Asa S.—The Pioneer. 1913.
- Barlow, Bill.—Sagebrush Philosophy. 12v. 1908.





